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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

CALGARY COLLEGE 1912-1915: A STUDY OF AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH
A PRIVATELY FINANCED UNIVERSITY IN ALBERTA

by

NORMAN LESLIE McLEOD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

CALGARY, ALBERTA

SEPTEMBER, 1970

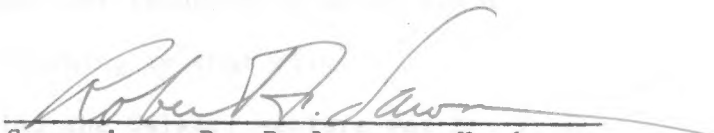


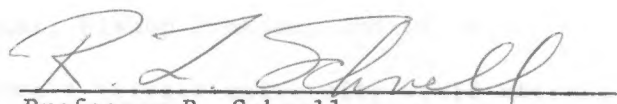
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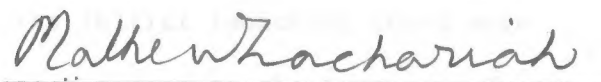
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY


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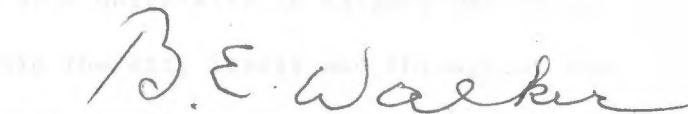
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Calgary College 1912-1915: A Study of the Attempt to Establish a Privately Financed University in Alberta" submitted by Norman Leslie McLeod in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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ABSTRACT

With the creation in 1905 of the Province of Alberta the Calgary-Edmonton rivalry focussed upon two things--the location of the capital and the location of the provincial university. After Edmonton had been chosen as the seat of government, it was widely assumed that Calgary would get the university. With the locating of the university in Strathcona (later incorporated into Edmonton), the political constituency of the then premier Rutherford, such was the displeasure of some in Calgary that a movement was launched to establish a separate institution of higher learning in that city.

The principal spirit behind the Calgary venture was Dr. T. H. Blow--a well-known medical specialist--along with others such as W. J. Tregillus, T. J. S. Skinner, Bishop Pinkham, and Dr. A. O. MacRae. It was assumed that such a private university would attract the support of the affluent by allowing them to purchase shares in the institution--shares which, after the initial launching costs were looked after, hopefully would bring a return to the investor of something in excess of six per cent per annum. Such optimism was based upon the idea that student fees would be such as to more than cover the cost of operation.

The response to the idea of a university in Calgary was by no means completely favourable within the city itself and throughout the rest of the province the reaction generally showed varying degrees of hostility. Certainly Dr. Tory, the first president of the University of Alberta, was very much opposed to the scheme seeing in it a fatal blow to the newly founded provincial university. Tory believed that

the Calgary scheme would draw away students and public funds from Strathcona. In his view no institution of higher learning, given the smallness of population and developed wealth in Alberta, could exist without public funds and it was a moot point whether the province could support one university adequately let alone two. Tory favoured strongly the centralizing of higher education in the province and in such view he was supported by the Legislature.

The Calgary university supporters claimed to have raised a large endowment in land and money and expected to receive a city grant of \$150,000--a grant never given as the stipulated conditions were not met. The creation of a full-fledged university however necessitated the having of degree-conferring power. The granting of such power was consistently rejected by the Legislature but it did grant a charter of incorporation to the Calgary institution as Calgary College, which opened in 1912. It was assumed in Calgary that once the College was established sufficient pressure could be brought to bear upon the government to grant the degree-conferring power hitherto sought. There was an attempt also to get affiliation with one of the Eastern universities--preferably McGill.

From the outset however little went according to plan. The affiliation attempt failed and a government appointed commission recommended against the granting of degree-conferring power and suggested the transforming of the College into an institute of technology and art. As a result the College folded and a technical institute was established by the provincial government.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Lastly to Mrs. Burke, who typed the manuscript, to those who granted personal interviews, and to those with whom correspondence was conducted by letter I am much indebted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	viii
 Chapter	
I. THE PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITY AND THE SITE	
CONTROVERSY 1905-1910	1
II. THE LAUNCHING OF THE CALGARY PROJECT	43
III. THE CAMPAIGN TO SECURE DEGREE-GRANTING POWERS	
FOR CALGARY COLLEGE	81
IV. A TIME OF FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY AND A SEEKING	
OF PUBLIC SUPPORT	114
V. THE BEGINNING OF THE END	150
VI. THE CLOSING OF CALGARY COLLEGE	176
BIBLIOGRAPHY	198
 APPENDICES	
I. POPULATION STATISTICS	206
II. ELECTION RESULTS: 1905, 1909, 1911, 1913	208
III. GOVERNMENT GRANT 1908-1913	214
IV. UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA ENROLLMENT FIGURES 1908-1915. .	216
V. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE	
GRANTING OF DEGREE-CONFERRING POWERS TO	
CALGARY COLLEGE	218

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Manuscripts

<u>Braithwaite Papers</u>	-	<u>B.P.</u>
<u>Falconer Papers</u>	-	<u>F.P.</u>
<u>Rutherford Papers</u>	-	<u>R.P.</u>
<u>Tory Papers</u>	-	<u>T.P.</u>

B. Newspapers

<u>Edmonton Bulletin</u>	-	<u>E.B.</u>
<u>Edmonton Journal</u>	-	<u>E.J.</u>
<u>Calgary Albertan</u>	-	<u>C.A.</u>
<u>Calgary Herald</u>	-	<u>C.H.</u>
<u>Calgary News Telegram</u>	-	<u>C.N.T.</u>
<u>Lethbridge Herald</u>	-	<u>L.H.</u>

C. Institutions

Glenbow Foundation Archives	-	G.F.A.
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INTRODUCTION

Calgary has had a completely autonomous university only since 1966. However, the history of higher education in the city is almost as old as that of the province itself, since provision was made in 1906 for the establishment of the Calgary Normal School. Following World War II the University of Alberta assumed the responsibility for all teacher training in the province with the result that the normal schools disappeared and Calgary acquired a branch of the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta. A branch of the Faculty of Arts and Science followed shortly afterwards. Thus, from 1945-1966 university education in Calgary was under the aegis of the provincial university in Edmonton.

It is interesting to reflect in 1970, when the present University of Calgary is expecting a full-time enrollment of over ten thousand students, that a Calgary university so-called opened its doors in 1912 and operated until 1915. Its history was short and stormy but its establishment marked the first attempt to found, on a private basis, such an institution of higher learning in Alberta. The attempt reflected both the local rivalry and jealousy extant in provincial politics and the desire to share in the prestige attached to being a seat of higher learning. It was associated too with the real estate boom and land speculation which lasted until 1913. The promoters of the project however overestimated seriously the support they thought they could gather and they had little conception of the cost of establishing and operating a

university.

A word should be said about the sources of information. As this is a study in local history the press played an important role, but vital too were the papers of such prominent personalities as H. M. Tory, A. C. Rutherford, Sir R. Falconer, and E. E. Braithwaite.¹ Lord Bennett's papers proved to be, for this study, of little value. There were no items relating to Calgary College in the papers of Dr. Mack Eastman, history professor in the College. There were others, for example W. M. Tregillus and T. H. Blow, who have left no papers whatsoever. Also, certain papers were not open--for example those of W. C. Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan--although it was indicated by the Secretary, University Archives Committee, D. H. Bocking, that there was nothing in them pertinent to this study. In any event there is sufficient correspondence from Murray in the Tory Papers that throws considerable light on his (Murray's) educational views. Also closed were the records of the Senate and Board of Governors of the University of Toronto, an institution with which Calgary College was considering seeking affiliation, but a search made by the Secretary of the Board, Mr. Claringbold, indicated nothing relevant. Of interest too is the fact that there are practically no papers in the Department of Education prior to 1930 relevant to this study.

¹H. M. Tory's nephew, J. M. Tory of Toronto, told the author that there were many of his uncle's papers stored in crates in a Toronto warehouse. He indicated that he would search them and forward any pertinent information--nothing was received. These papers are going to be turned over to the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, at some later date.

CHAPTER I

THE PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITY AND THE SITE CONTROVERSY 1905-1910

The opening in 1912 of Calgary College represented the first attempt in Alberta to establish an independent, privately endowed university. The establishment of this College was a direct result of the dissatisfaction on the part of some Calgarians over the decision of the Rutherford government to locate the provincial university in Strathcona.¹

An interest in university affairs certainly antedated the creation in 1905 of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta and the subsequent establishment of the respective provincial universities therein. In Calgary, for example, there was a considerable interest in such a project shown in the 1890's and, while undoubtedly it was not the concern of the majority of the people, nonetheless many of the more influential citizens, including Mayor Wesley Orr, were actively involved. As early as 1892 there was interest shown in pressuring Ottawa to provide grants for such things as a university,

¹Alexander Cameron Rutherford (1857-1941)--graduate of McGill, B.A., B.C.L., came to Strathcona in 1895 to practise law. In 1900 a partnership was formed with Jameson to which a third partner, Grant, was added in 1910. Served as Secretary-Treasurer of Strathcona (1899-1905) and Secretary of the School Board (1896-1905). Elected to the Territorial Assembly in 1902 and served as a supporter of Haultain until 1905 when he was chosen head of the Alberta Liberal Party and served as first premier of the province (1905-1910).

For a comparison of the population figures of Calgary and Edmonton see the tables in Appendix I.

hospital, experimental farm, and asylum.² By 1893, the leading citizens in the principal population centres in the Territories were being urged to pressure the federal government to set apart 250,000 acres in each of the Territories for university purposes. A resolution to this effect, passed by the Calgary Committee, was being forwarded to Senator Lougheed. Also it was resolved to ask Premier Haultain to approach Ottawa in this matter.³ Throughout 1894 and the years following, the Calgary group was very active in keeping alive the university question, even though there was a waning in enthusiasm on the part of the Legislative Assembly as it became more involved in the struggle for responsible government and

²W. Orr, Letter Book - July 1888 to December 1892, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary. Hereinafter referred to as G.F.A. Letter to H. S. Caley, M.L.A., Regina, December 10, 1892, p. 998.

The question of a Territorial university was being discussed by the Legislative Assembly as early as 1889. It was felt that the securing of a land grant was desirable and that action to obtain such should be taken before all the suitable land was designated for other purposes. See R. S. Patterson, "F. W. G. Haultain and Education in the Early West" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1961), p. 93.

Wesley Orr (1831-1898)--began working for the Calgary Herald in 1888 and later became assistant editor. He served for a number of years on city council and in 1894, following the granting of a city charter, he was elected mayor.

³W. Orr, Letter Book - December 1892 to October 1893, G.F.A., Calgary. Letter to H. Macdonald, M.P., Ottawa, April 6, 1893, p. 413.

Hon. Sir Frederick William Gordon Haultain (1857-1942)--Graduate of Toronto, B.A. (1879), practised law at Macleod, Alberta. He was a member of the North West Council 1887-1889; North West Legislative Assembly 1888-1905; Premier, Attorney-General and Commissioner of Education for the Territories 1897-1905; member of the Saskatchewan Legislature 1905-1912; appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan 1912; knighted 1916; appointed Chancellor of the University of Saskatchewan 1917-1938.

provincial autonomy.⁴

By the turn of the century there was little doubt that the status of the Territories was going to be changed although no decision had been made as to when such a change would be effected or whether the Territories would form one province or two.⁵ The talk of provincial status served to keep the question of higher education very much alive. The Calgary Public School Board passed the following resolution October 15, 1901:

. . . that this Board respectfully request the Hon. Mr. Haultain and the Hon. Mr. Sifton to consider at this juncture the advisability of taking steps to provide for the establishment of a Provincial University. If under the

⁴With regard to the interest of Calgary in university matters see, for example, W. Orr, Diary, G.F.A.--entries such as those of March 20, 1894, p. 167; March 31, 1894, p. 173; and April 6, 1894, p. 176. As early as 1895 however Haultain foresaw problems in dealing with Ottawa. As Chairman of the Council of Public Instruction he favoured the establishment of a university but warned that, while his government would do everything possible to achieve that goal, there might be disappointment from Ottawa regarding the request for a land grant. See Patterson, op. cit., p. 93.

As it happened Haultain had the correct reading of the situation for as late as March, 1907, the final decision regarding a university land grant still had not been taken. There was little doubt that Laurier was not favourably disposed to the idea feeling that any such grant would encounter serious objections in view of the seemingly too liberal treatment already accorded Alberta and Saskatchewan. See Laurier Papers, Vol. 455, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa--telegram to Laurier from the Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Education, Saskatchewan, March 12, 1907; Laurier's telegraph reply 13 March 1907 followed on the same day by a letter to Calder.

⁵One Calgary daily went so far as to say that the Territorial Legislature was scheduled to meet May 2, 1901, and that the members of the government already knew the conditions upon which the federal authorities were prepared to admit the Territories into confederation. See Calgary Herald, April 1, 1902, p. 2. Hereinafter referred to as C.H.

terms agreed upon the Dominion Government shall retain possession and control of the public lands then we would respectfully suggest that sufficient public land be set aside to form a suitable endowment for such a University, and if the possession and control of the public land shall be handed over to the Provincial authorities then that provision for a similar land endowment be embodied in the terms upon which the Province is to be established.⁶

In the three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, the control of the public lands and the mineral resources remained in the hands of the federal government. This was so until 1930. In effect, therefore, until 1930 these provinces did not enjoy full responsible government as did those in the East. A copy of the above resolution was to be forwarded to each of the local members of the Legislative Assembly.

In 1903 the Legislative Assembly took the first concrete steps to establish institutions of higher education in the Territories. On June 19, 1903, the Assembly passed a bill incorporating the Western Canada College at Calgary. The College was to be a joint stock corporation with a capital of \$50,000. When \$10,000 had been

⁶Calgary Brewery Papers, A. E. Cross Correspondence 1900-1901, G.F.A. A copy of this resolution was forwarded to Mr. Cross by James Short, Secretary-Treasurer of the Board, with a request that he do everything possible "to procure an endowment for a Provincial University."

Alexander Ernest Cross (1861-1932)--came to Alberta in 1884; ranched until 1891; member of the Territorial Legislature 1899-1903; President of the Calgary Brewing and Malting Co.

Arthur Lewis Sifton (1858-1921)--represented Banff in the Territorial Legislature 1899-1903; Chief Justice of North West Territories 1903-1905; of Alberta 1905-1910; Premier of Alberta 1910-1917; entered the Borden National Government in 1917; delegate to Versailles 1918; Secretary of State 1920.

subscribed and \$2,000 paid up, the College could begin operations.⁷ The institution was not given degree-conferring powers, although it was felt that full university status would come in time. Such a sentiment was echoed in 1904 by the Governor-General, Lord Minto, who said, while presiding at the cornerstone ceremonies, that he hoped that the College would be not only one of the leading educational institutions of the west but that the cornerstone he was laying would serve as the cornerstone of the university of the North West Territories.⁸ Similar sentiments were expressed by Dr. A. O. MacRae, the principal of the new College, who felt that university extension courses would come and that gradually the institution would develop into a university per se offering full instruction in the arts and sciences.⁹ Here then is the first concrete evidence

⁷W. C. Murray, The University of Saskatchewan, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 35, Series III, May, 1941, p. 97. Many prominent men such as Haultain and R. B. Bennett were shareholders. The College opened in temporary quarters in September, 1903, and shortly afterwards purchased twenty acres near Calgary. However, with the extension of the city limits the College land soon was within the city. In 1908 the College Act was amended and the College was granted exemption from taxation, except for local improvements, on its lands, buildings, equipment and furnishings so long as the land was used by the College. See Statutes of Alberta, Act for Relief of Western Canada College, Chapter 37, 1908.

Walter Charles Murray (1866-1945)--educated at the University of New Brunswick and Edinburgh; taught at U.N.B. and Dalhousie (1892-1908); President of the University of Saskatchewan 1908-1937.

⁸C.H., Saturday, September 10, pp. 1 and 3.

⁹Ibid., p. 3. This paper had been pushing to have a university established in Calgary. In an editorial on Friday, June 3, 1904, p. 2, it stated: "Already in Calgary there is an institution which is shaping itself to become the nucleus of a Western university . . . The institution is known as Western Canada College. The

that Calgary saw itself as a university centre and therefore came to expect in later years, perhaps not unreasonably, that it deserved to be chosen as the site of the provincial university.

Besides providing for the incorporation of Western Canada College, 1903 saw the introduction by Haultain of university legislation. He had been actively involved for many years in the university movement in the west but was moved to action by the rumour that the Methodists were interested in establishing a College for higher learning in Edmonton. He was seriously alarmed as he wished to avoid on the prairies the sectarian strife found in education in Ontario.¹⁰ The bill introduced provided for the establishment and incorporation of a University for the North West Territories and was assented to November 21, 1903.¹¹ The bill mentioned no name and no site as Haultain saw no need for the actual establishment of the institution until provincial status had been granted. However, he felt it necessary to approve and implement an ordinance so as to indicate the type of university he felt desirable and also to have something to show Ottawa when attempting to get a university land

work of the college is being enlarged to cover the first two years of the arts' course and affiliation is being sought with eastern universities. Properly supported as it should be, this undenominational institution may well become in time the accredited seat of learning for the Canadian West, . . ."

Archibald O. MacRae (1869-1963)--graduate of Dalhousie, Edinburgh, Jena (Ph.D); Principal of Western Canada College 1903-1923; Headmaster of the University Military School, Victoria.

¹⁰Murray, op. cit., p. 97.

¹¹See: Ordinances of the North West Territories, 1899-1903.

grant. Haultain envisioned the creation of one province out of the Territories, containing one university free from sectarian and political control, designed to advance and to diffuse useful knowledge, geared to scientific research and operating in close association with the business world. Such legislation, coming as it did a few months after the incorporation of Western Canada College, and, given the university aspirations that many had for the College, bolstered Calgary's hope of becoming the leading centre of higher education in the Territories.

After 1903 the territorial political interests increasingly centred upon the question of provincial autonomy and issues arising therefrom such as whether the Territories would form one province or two and the location of the capital(s). By the end of 1904 there was increased speculation that two provinces would be created, although where the boundary between them would be drawn was not clear. The Calgary Herald drew the eastern boundary of Alberta in the vicinity of Swift Current or Moose Jaw, thus leaving Calgary and Edmonton as the two leading cities. It was able to conclude in an editorial that "with such an arrangement Calgary will be the natural geographical centre and very likely to be selected as the capital."¹² When

¹²C.H., Friday, January 20, 1905, p. 2. In a similar vein on Friday, February 3, 1905, it stressed that in the struggle for the capital Calgary definitely had the upper hand. "The district has every reason to feel that the capital will come to Calgary though it may mean a long fight and a hard one to land it."

Not everyone shared this optimism. The president of the Calgary Liberal Association, Major Walker, thought that in choosing the capital the government would be pro-north since that area had been friendlier at election time. See: C.H., Thursday, February 2, 1905, p. 1.

the Autonomy Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, February 21, 1905, it provided for the creation of twenty-five electoral constituencies and placed the provisional capital at Edmonton!¹³

In the next few months the university question receded into the background and attention was focused upon the drawing of the constituency boundaries. In Calgary the capital question interested many, Liberal and Conservative alike. There was much dissatisfaction in Calgary Liberal circles over the drawing of the constituency boundaries. If the constituency boundaries were drawn by the government rather than by a non-political commission, irrespective of how fair the drawing might be, Calgary feared that they would be drawn in such a way so as to increase Edmonton's chances of being named the permanent capital.¹⁴ There were repercussions to Calgary's attitude in

¹³See: Rutherford Papers, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton. Hereinafter referred to as R.P. Letter to Rutherford from P. Talbot, February 21, 1905.

¹⁴R.P. Letter to Rutherford from Charles A. Stuart, May 1, 1905. Stuart was a well known Calgary lawyer and Liberal and was chosen as the first Chancellor of the University of Alberta. He indicated to Rutherford that the views of the Calgary Liberals had been put before Frank Oliver when he was in the city and that if the northern Liberals would not support a move to have an impartial commission established then no one should be surprised if Calgary adopted a "city coming before party" approach to politics. Failing the establishment of such a commission Stuart thought that the Liberals might be able to count upon Calgary support if they agreed to leave the capital question to a popular vote to be taken at the first provincial election.

Shortly afterwards however in a letter to C. W. Cross, May 18, 1905, Stuart indicated that, while the Calgary Liberals were very upset over the proposed constituencies, he doubted if the capital question would interfere with the party enthusiasm anywhere outside of the City of Calgary. This letter was forwarded to Rutherford May 22. On May 26 Stuart wrote to Rutherford expressing the same views. R.P.

Ottawa where it was felt that the Conservatives, backed by Calgary and the C.P.R., might obstruct proceedings for months.¹⁵ Such was the impact of the Calgary outcry that Laurier considered the possibility of leaving the distribution question to a commission of judges so as to prevent the Liberals being accused of gerrymandering.¹⁶ No such commission ever was appointed and this allowed the southern part of Alberta to claim that the drawing of the constituency boundaries was done so as to favour the central and northern parts.

By the summer of 1905 education again was becoming an important topic and favourable interest was shown in Calgary to a suggestion from Dr. H. M. Tory of McGill that Calgary perhaps could secure a branch of McGill.¹⁷ Shortly afterwards it was announced by Dr. MacRae that Western Canada College had secured affiliation

¹⁵R.P. Letter to Rutherford from Talbot, May 19, 1905. Talbot indicated that little faith could be put in the Calgary Liberals. "Our friends in Calgary were no good."

¹⁶R.P. Letter to Rutherford from Talbot, May 28, 1905. He indicated however that he did not think that the Calgary Liberals had a leg to stand upon. Talbot, the federal member for Strathcona, had given assurance to Rutherford that he would fight to get the capital either for Strathcona or for Edmonton. See: L. G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 13.

¹⁷C.H., Thursday, June 1, 1905, p. 2. The editorial comment referred to remarks Tory had made shortly before while in Calgary.

Henry Marshall Tory (1864-1947)--graduate of McGill (B.A.-1890; M.A.-1896; D.Sc.-1906); lecturer in Mathematics at McGill 1893-1902; Associate Professor 1905-1908; active in establishing McGill affiliations in British Columbia; President of the University of Alberta 1908-1928; Director of the National Research Council 1928-1935; a founder of Carleton University.

with the University of Toronto.¹⁸ With provincial autonomy about to be granted the university question came more to the fore and one plank in the Liberal platform committed the party to build a provincial university and an agricultural college. It was perhaps not unreasonable on the part of many in Calgary to see Western Canada College, with its newly established University of Toronto connection, as the nucleus of a western university.¹⁹ In 1905, however, there was no commitment by any political party as to when or where a provincial university would be built. The first concrete step taken in

¹⁸The conditions of affiliation were as follows: "(1) That the Western Canada College be and the same is hereby affiliated with the University of Toronto without representation on the Senate; (2) That such affiliation shall terminate if the said College shall become affiliated with any other University or if the students cease to present themselves for the examination in Arts of this University; (3) That the annual and supplemental examinations shall be conducted by the University in Calgary at the same time as the same examinations are being held in Toronto; (4) That these examinations shall be based upon the curriculum in Arts of this University and include Junior Matriculation and the first and second years of all courses save those which involve Laboratory work; (5) That the students shall enrol in either University College, Victoria College or Trinity College, and shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges, and subject to all the regulations pertaining to students of these colleges at Toronto." This information is from an undated memo in the Tory Papers, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton. Hereinafter referred to as T.P. The affiliation agreement was in effect by early July as there is reference to it in C.H., Wednesday, 5 July, 1905, p. 6.

¹⁹The establishment of a provincial university was regarded by many as something that should be undertaken as quickly as possible. It could be started as a college offering two years Arts and Science with additional offerings and years being added as money became available. It was logical for those in Calgary who thought along such lines to see in Western Canada College a university in the making. Also, given the fact that Calgary was the largest urban centre in Alberta, it was inconceivable to many Calgarians that, when built, the university would be situated in any other locale.

field of higher education in newly created Alberta was the decision of November 20 to open a normal school in Calgary: a school to be housed in temporary quarters and ready for operation by January, 1906.²⁰

Following the first provincial elections the question of the provincial university became a very important issue and the question of its location generated heated debate and aroused considerable local antagonism.²¹ Since Edmonton had been named the provisional capital it came as no great surprise when it was chosen as the permanent seat of the government. That being the case it was argued that Calgary should be the educational centre and the seat of the provincial university. A typical representative, for example, of this point of view was the Rev. Dr. Herdman, who, in stressing the need for a university, wrote:

²⁰Calgary officials knew of the government's intention for as early as October the school trustees had appointed a committee from the Board to investigate the possibility of finding suitable quarters for such a school. It was decided to house the normal school, temporarily, in the new Central School. See references to the normal school question in C.H., Friday, October 20, 1905, p. 6, and Tuesday, November 21, 1905, p. 3; Edmonton Bulletin, Tuesday, November 21, 1905. Hereinafter referred to as E.B.

²¹With the creation of Alberta the Liberals were charged with forming a provisional government with Edmonton as the provisional capital. The premier was A. C. Rutherford who was chosen as a poor third--most preferred either F. Oliver or P. Talbot but each declined so as to pursue his ambitions in federal politics. The election was held November 9, 1905, and the Liberals won all but two of the twenty-five seats, including the Calgary seat. Rutherford held as well the portfolio of Minister of Education and in education generally, and the university question in particular, he had a deep and abiding interest.

For a constituency breakdown of the election results see Appendix II.

. . . Should not Alberta in this year 1906 think as seriously of a university as of a capital? More seriously, I would say. And can not a general understanding be reached throughout the province--on public, educational, civic and even political platforms--that one of our two cities shall have the capital, and the other shall have the university? Would not this idea be fair to the cities and favorable to the province, and make a commemoration for the year 1906?²²

As well as discussions regarding the university site there was considerable discussion as to whether a university per se was even needed at such an early stage in the province's development. The Edmonton Bulletin felt that the university enterprise should be postponed for a number of years. It was argued that a university, by its very nature, serves the needs of the few, whereas, while people were struggling to obtain the basic necessities of life, the greatest concern should be for the needs of the many. Some felt, too, that the province had a sufficiently large task in raising the standard and broadening the scope of primary education and that to establish a university might divert attention and funds from this important work. The time would come, obviously, when a university would be needed and when founded it should be in every respect first class; meanwhile Alberta students should continue to patronize the eastern universities.²³

²²C.H., Tuesday, January 2, 1906, p. 3. Letter to the editor. The same letter was printed in E.B., Thursday, January 4, 1906, p. 4.

²³E.B., Wednesday, February 28, 1906, p. 4. There was general agreement that a university was an expensive undertaking and that its founding should not be premature but to postpone it for a number of years was another matter. It was argued that there could be no improvement in the public schools without getting better educated

Rutherford, however, favoured the early establishment of a university and accordingly, when the Legislature opened on March 15, 1906, Lieutenant-Governor Bulyea in the Throne Speech said: "Among the measures which will be submitted to you are: . . . a bill making provision for the establishment at such time as the growth of the province warrants of a provincial university; . . ."²⁴ The following week Rutherford, as Minister of Education, introduced a bill to provide for the establishment and incorporation of a non-denominational University of Alberta.²⁵ While providing the machinery

teachers. Also, the university should be seen as exercising a social and moral influence upon the population at large. There was the fear too that if steps to establish a non-sectarian university were not taken soon Alberta would witness the rise of denominational colleges which would complicate further the higher education problem.

²⁴C.H., Friday, March 16, 1906, p. 1.

²⁵The university bill was assented to on May 9, 1906. The university was to be called the University of Alberta and provision was made for a Senate to consist of the Minister of Education, Chancellor, President or Acting President, ten members appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and five elected by Convocation from among its members. See Province of Alberta, Department of Education Annual Report 1906, p. 115. No provision was made for a Board of Governors until the University Act was amended in 1910. The Board was to handle the business and financial administration. It was government controlled and became the most important body of the university government, even able, through its control of financial policy, to exercise control over academic matters which supposedly were regulated by the Senate.

Rutherford was an ex-McGill man and was well aware of the difficulties existing in eastern Canada as a result of the numerous denominational colleges. He was quite in accord with Tory's views on the question of church affiliated colleges. Tory, while he was in Vancouver, took the liberty of outlining his views to Rutherford and he made it clear that he regarded denominationalism as the greatest danger to good educational work. Church colleges were small, inefficient, financially wasteful and unable to offer the scientific education needed in the twentieth century. Tory claimed

necessary for the university government, the bill did not stipulate when or where the institution would be built. The Calgary Herald correctly viewed the bill as essentially a re-enactment of Haultain's bill of 1903, but came to the strange conclusion that Calgary likely would be chosen as the site. Speaking of the Rutherford bill the Herald noted:

. . . It provides that the university may be established at any future time that the government sees fit, but does not specify the time nor the location. The inference, of course, is that Calgary gets the university, but it is not so stipulated in the bill and the government is probably holding the matter up until the capital question has been settled . . . ²⁶

Certainly Calgary could expect to be a strong contender for the university but beyond that it was unwise to speculate.

Following the final passage of the university bill there was considerable discussion about the proposed institution and the form

that, if one looked at the multitude of such colleges in the Maritimes, not one was doing first class, university calibre work (not even Dalhousie). Tory's remarks referred generally to the English-speaking universities. Laval for example was doing good work in the humanities although it was not noted for its work in science. Likewise Tory cautioned against establishing a university on an examining basis because, not only would the mistake take years to remedy, but to set up an examination board would be impossible because "there are not half a dozen men available West of Winnipeg to constitute such a Board, and I doubt if one whose examination would be accepted East of Manitoba." T.P. Letter to Rutherford, March 6, 1906.

Geo. Hedley Vicars Bulyea (1859-1928)--graduate of University of New Brunswick; Minister of Public Works for North West Territories 1903; Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta 1905-1915.

²⁶C.H., Saturday, March 24, 1906, p. 1. In the edition of Tuesday, March 27, 1906, p. 2, it was asserted unequivocally that the "location of the provincial university is assured for the city. . . ."

The capital question was settled on April 25, 1906, when the Legislature by a vote of 16 to 8 named Edmonton the permanent capital.

it should take. Some suggested that the government begin by founding a school of agriculture; others had heard it rumoured that the government had been approached by an eastern university with a view to establishing affiliation with the new school. In any event many responded favourably to the university idea. A meeting in May, 1906, of the University of Toronto alumni in Calgary proposed that the new university should be completely independent although perhaps deriving inspiration from Toronto and McGill. James Short proposed that Calgary should be considered as the seat of the university.²⁷ In June a large number of university graduates gathered in Calgary to form a local alumni association and they resolved to request of the government that a university be established as soon as possible.²⁸

A new twist was given to university thinking by a proposal made by the Vancouver World that perhaps there should be established an inter-provincial university for British Columbia and Alberta. While this was not considered seriously it had some merit in that neither province had a university of its own and that a joint institution could be launched with greater financial backing.²⁹ It is

²⁷For an account of the proceedings of the Alumni meeting of May 17, see C.H., Friday, May 18, 1906, p. 3.

James Short, 1862-1942--graduate of Toronto; principal of Calgary High School 1889-1893; practised law; served on School Board.

²⁸A. D. Marzolf, "A. C. Rutherford and His Influence on Alberta's Educational Program" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1961), p. 85. This meeting was held on June 1. For a coverage of it, including a list of those in attendance see C.H., Saturday, June 2, 1906, p. 8. Many of the more prominent local notables were there--C. A. Stuart, Bishop Pinkham, Dr. MacRae, G. J. Bryan, Rev. G. W. Kerby, and W. M. Davidson.

²⁹C.H., Saturday, November 17, 1906, p. 2. Should such a

interesting to note that at this time British Columbia did not have a provincial university even though the province was created and entered Confederation in 1871. The University of British Columbia was not created until 1915; prior to that, what higher education there was, was in the hands of denominational colleges such as Columbian at New Westminster and the affiliated colleges of McGill in Vancouver and Victoria.

What was becoming increasingly clear, however, was the fact that by the end of 1906 considerable pressure was building up and the government was being urged from many quarters to move quickly. Even the churches were active, as witnessed by the activity of the Calgary Anglican diocese.³⁰

By 1907 it was becoming increasingly apparent that a decision on the university soon would be made, but the portents to some seemed ominous. There were many rumours as to the site and some questioning of the procedure adopted for choosing a site. In his budget speech of March, 1907, Rutherford, as Provincial Treasurer, announced the setting aside of an appropriation of \$150,000 with which to purchase a site of 200 to 300 acres, but nothing was said regarding the location. He said: "I may inform the House that we

proposal be considered seriously the Herald favoured locating such a university in Banff.

³⁰At a meeting of the executive committee of the Diocese held December 13, 1906, a resolution was passed and sent to Rutherford requesting the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to take all the necessary steps to establish a provincial university as soon as possible. E.B., Wednesday, January 9, 1907, p. 1.

have not selected a site as yet. It has been our duty to make a selection in other cases, and we hope the selection in this case, wherever it may be made, will give entire satisfaction to the people of the province."³¹ Perhaps the location had not been decided but there were definite signs regarding Rutherford's views. One paper wrote:

The location of the provincial university is one that touches the people of the province very closely. When the capital was located at Edmonton it was rumored that Calgary had some assurance that the provincial university would be located in the latter city. It is well known that the Minister of Education, Hon. A. C. Rutherford, has advocated his own town, Strathcona, and will push its claims. . . .³²

There was criticism over the fact that the task of choosing the site rested not with the Legislature but with the cabinet, and, in view of the fact that many places in the province were interested in being chosen, the fairness of this was questioned. The Albertan regarded the procedure as a mistake.

At the time of the decision upon the location of the capital it was understood that the selection of a site for the university would be made in the same way. The legislators are of the opinion that the location is of some importance, in fact second to that of the capital alone.³³

³¹Cited in A. D. Marzolf, op. cit., p. 86.

³²Red Deer Advocate, Friday, March 22, 1907.

³³Calgary Albertan, Monday, March 25, 1907, p. 3. Hereinafter referred to as C.A. It was indicated that not only should the elected representatives be capable of making the selection but also that perhaps there was too much haste being shown--perhaps the question should be postponed until the House re-convened. Also, there was no need to choose a site until building operations were about to begin.

The site question certainly raised the spectre of regional antagonism and added credence to the feeling that the government was biased in favour of the northern part of the province. It appeared that Rutherford was prepared to ignore a basic plank in the Liberal platform, viz. a fair distribution of public services, and there was a fear that the issue would be settled without central and southern Alberta having been consulted fully.

On April 6, 1907, newspapers reported that Strathcona had been chosen as the university site--an announcement that, generally, had been expected for some time. What was perhaps not expected was the degree of bitterness that was aroused, especially on the part of Calgary. Rutherford was accused of showing a lack of statesmanship, of being personally responsible for choosing his own town and of ignoring previous assurances given after the choosing of Edmonton as the capital that "the university would be placed at Calgary or some other point not in the north."³⁴ It is not certain that Calgary ever had been promised the university but Calgarians had good reason to expect it and quite likely there was some kind of an "understanding" to that effect.

³⁴C.H., Monday, April 8, 1907, p. 2. W. H. Alexander, the first professor appointed to the University of Alberta and professor of classics 1908-1938, indicated that Rutherford certainly was anxious to have the university located in his own political constituency. See W. H. Alexander, "In the Beginning," Alberta Historical Review (Spring, 1960), 17.

The decision regarding the university site was reached by the cabinet on April 5, 1907. The House had been prorogued March 15.

There was a general understanding that Calgary was to have the university. But it was only an understanding. I have heard Liberals say that such an understanding had been discussed in the presence of the Premier. But no one ever went so far as to say that he had actually agreed to it. He listened politely, laid low, and said nothing. That was one time when silence did not imply consent.³⁵

Calgary was the most populous centre of the province and from that standpoint deserved more consideration than it had received. See the population figures in Appendix I.

The justification for choosing Strathcona was that it was deemed desirable to have the university near to the capital and to the Department of Education. The assertion that there was an "understanding" regarding the question was denied. The Bulletin summed up the official attitude by stating that "no city had anything in the nature of a claim which could outweigh the advantages that would help

³⁵Edmonton Journal, October 5, 1948. Hereinafter referred to as E.J. This is from an article by W. M. Davidson, Liberal and former publisher of the Calgary Albertan. Thomas agrees and says that it was felt that Calgary could "reasonably expect some substantial recompense. There was a general understanding that when a provincial university was founded it would be in Calgary, . . ." Thomas, op. cit., p. 39.

William Davidson (1873?-1942)--graduate of Toronto; publisher of the Albertan 1902-1926; served on the School Board; served two terms in the provincial Legislature.

W. H. Alexander asserted that the demand for a university in Calgary was not as widespread as some had thought and that Calgary's chagrin stemmed from losing the capital. Quoting from information received from Howard McLean, a former classmate, Liberal and Calgary lawyer, about the gloom in Calgary over losing the capital: " . . . he, as a member of the Liberal executive, pointed out to the leaders of their organization that there still remained a great gift for the government of Alberta to bestow, in the form namely, of a provincial university, and proposed that they send a delegate north to press Calgary's claims on the cabinet. His proposal was hooted down unanimously. 'What was the good of a university anyway?' . . . " W. H. Alexander, "In the Beginning," op. cit., p. 16.

the efficiency of Alberta's chief institution of learning."³⁶ Speaking at a banquet in Strathcona May 3 Rutherford stressed the importance of having the university near to the capital and indicated that, although \$150,000 had been allotted for the purchase of a site, negotiations for land still were proceeding. With reference to the criticism of him by the Calgary press he felt that such opinions were not wholly shared by the Calgary populace.³⁷

There was resentment in Calgary over losing the university and there emerged prejudices and sectional animosities which were deeper than those which erupted over the issue of the capital. In Calgary it caused a crisis in the Liberal party and resulted in a diminution of the party strength. To make matters worse the issue was going to be kept very much alive for years by Calgary's own university plans.³⁸ Some of the harshest criticism of the government came from

³⁶E.B., Tuesday, April 9, 1907, p. 4. It was stated that Strathcona was as near as possible to the geographic centre of the province and therefore was easily accessible to all. The choice of site also was a personal matter with Rutherford and it was "fitting he should bestow upon his home city the dignity and the honor of the chief institution of learning for Alberta."

³⁷E.B., Saturday, May 4, 1907, p. 1. The university site of 258 acres was purchased from the Simpson estate: the transaction having been registered June 7. Until the actual purchase of the property Calgary hoped the Legislature, which was not then in session, would be able to change the decision.

³⁸Thomas, op. cit., p. 50. He indicates that the crisis in the Liberal ranks would have been even more serious had the government not waited until after prorogation of the House before announcing Strathcona as the site. As it was it was felt by some, for example A. B. Watt, editor of the Edmonton Journal, that Rutherford's choice of site nearly wrecked the party and helped to bring about his downfall. See Edmonton Journal, October 5, 1948,

the Albertan, a Liberal journal, which reflected the rising sectional feelings when it stated: "On account of the gross selfishness of the Alberta administration in locating the university at Strathcona, the Alberta administration has made the new institution, not a provincial institution, but the university of Edmonton by which name it should be called."³⁹

The Edmonton papers generally supported the government in its choice: this was true even of the Bulletin which had not been particularly enthusiastic about the founding of a provincial university at that time--a feeling which was by no means uncommon throughout the province. The Journal closed sectional ranks on the issue and, while normally critical of the Rutherford administration, was prepared to

p. 10. Hereinafter referred to as E.J. This was one of a series of articles by Watt, who then was Editor Emeritus, dealing with the early days in Edmonton and Alberta.

The Rev. J. A. Clark of Knox Church, Calgary, stated that the Rutherford administration had alienated the southern part of the province and was damaging thereby the Liberal party in Alberta. He urged Liberal associations in the province to put pressure upon the government. Calgary Morning Herald, Thursday, April 11, 1907, p. 2.

³⁹C.A., Thursday, April 11, 1907, p. 3. It was felt that Alberta should have adopted the approach taken in Saskatchewan whereby, in an effort to establish a truly 'provincial university' and one which would be divorced from politics, the university graduates in the province, through the elected Senate were to choose a site and to establish the university, while the government promised to provide the necessary funds. The steps taken in the founding of the University of Saskatchewan are outlined in A. S. Morton, Saskatchewan, The Making of a University, revised and edited by C. King (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1959). It is not made clear in this book however why Saskatoon was chosen over Regina. President Murray of Saskatchewan personally favoured the locating of the university in Regina, the provincial capital, and he was supported in this view by Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin and Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation. See Murray, op. cit., p. 113.

give support in this instance.⁴⁰ Certainly there was a tendency, especially on the part of the Calgary Herald, to refuse to see any justification whatsoever for the locating of the university in or near to the capital even though such a move was highly recommended by many prominent educators. On one point, however, there was general agreement, viz., regardless of where the university was to be built it should be a provincial institution and not be affiliated with any other university, as was being rumoured on the occasion of Tory's visit to Edmonton.

Dr. Torrey [sic] is the advance agent for McGill University . . . He has a scheme by which McGill can hook up with a provincial institution and the two can work to the mutual advantage of each member of this combination. The proposition was made to British Columbia and has already been made to Alberta.⁴¹

Rutherford was opposed to such a scheme.

However, by the spring of 1907 there still was some doubt as to whether the Strathcona site was indeed permanent and remarks made

⁴⁰See for example a lengthy editorial supporting Rutherford, E.J., Saturday, April 13, 1907, p. 2. The Journal accused the Calgary Herald of supporting a purely local issue and, while this was not entirely true, there was a tendency on the part of the Herald and other elements in Calgary to over-estimate their support elsewhere in the province. In the university issue Calgary did not have the widespread backing that so often it presumed to have. For example, the Lethbridge Herald, a Liberal paper and not without influence in the southern part of the province, did not believe that in the distribution of public services Calgary had been treated unfairly.

⁴¹C.A., Thursday, April 18, 1907, p. 3. With regard to Rutherford's stand it was stated that "the Alberta public will back him . . . We want to work out our own educational destiny unassisted by McGill or any other institution . . . "

by the Hon. W. H. Cushing, Minister of Public Works and M.P.P. for Calgary, strengthened this doubt. Speaking in Calgary on May 22 Cushing indicated that Calgary should not cry before it was hurt and it should remember that no cornerstone for the university buildings had been laid as yet. From this the Herald concluded that "the injustice to Calgary involved in the location of the university at Strathcona would not in the end be consummated."⁴² In Red Deer it was felt that Cushing's speech could have only one meaning--the university question was by no means settled.⁴³ The issue however had been seen in a different light by an Edmonton paper which said, with reference to Cushing:

The citizens of Calgary are certainly justified in expecting something from this Delphic utterance. But it is difficult to believe that the government, having once made the choice of a site, would abandon it. . . . it would be the worst conceivable move from a political standpoint.⁴⁴

To reverse the university decision would lose Rutherford his constituency and stamp the entire administration as weak and vacillating. Apparently it came as quite a surprise to the Calgary Herald to find,

⁴²C.H., Thursday, May 23, 1907, p. 4. The article reiterated the old argument of Calgary having been promised the university.

William Henry Cushing (1852-1934)--came to Calgary from Ontario in 1883; engaged in the building trade until 1885; opened a sash and door factory; was Alberta's first Minister of Public Works 1905-1910.

⁴³Red Deer Advocate, cited in C.H., Saturday, June 8, 1907, p. 4.

⁴⁴Edmonton Saturday News, cited in C.H., Monday, June 3, 1907, p. 4.

when it learned of the purchase of the Strathcona site, that it had backed the wrong party.⁴⁵

While the site question was regarded as settled, it was by no means certain that there would be but one university in the province; indeed there was feeling in some quarters that an institution in Strathcona could not possibly serve the province as a whole. It was claimed that in the attempt to establish Convocation few graduates south of Red Deer had registered, and that as a result the University of Alberta was "destined to be a northern Alberta university" and never could be more.⁴⁶ By the summer of 1907 therefore an earnest effort was being made to explore other university possibilities.

As an alternative to the Strathcona institution some interest was shown in the idea of establishing a "University of Western Canada," one backed by the three provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia. The justification was that such an institution would be prosperous from the outset and therefore would be of greater immediate value to the professions such as medicine and

⁴⁵C.H., Monday, June 17, 1904, p. 4. Cushing, it claimed, should vindicate himself but in all likelihood he would be found to be a 'quitter'.

⁴⁶C.A., Wednesday, June 26, 1907, p. 3. Convocation was to be composed of all graduates of Canadian universities and of universities of British Dominions residing in Alberta. The registration fee was \$2.00 per head. The Calgary fear was that the university would be northern dominated and that graduates "to the east, west or south of Calgary are in this way quite shut out from the university, . . ." Also it was questioned as to how much real authority Convocation would wield and it was feared that it would be a farce and "continue as it has begun, that is an Edmonton university." C.A., Wednesday, May 1, 1907, p. 3.

engineering. Also provision could be made for a system of affiliated colleges and so escape from sectionalism and politics. Such an idea was viewed by Edmonton as little more than a veiled attempt by Calgary interests to get a university for their city. The Alberta Deputy Minister of Education, D. S. Mackenzie, stated that his department had received no communication regarding such a project and said, with reference to the argument that a university should be located at a central railroad point, that "it does not take long to discover where that point of necessity will be."⁴⁷ The Albertan denied that such an institution necessarily would be in Calgary as Mackenzie suspected. It was stated that the scheme "was not born in Calgary, and the idea does not include the location of such an institution in this city. The proposition is too big for any little bickering about the location. . . ."⁴⁸

The inter-provincial university scheme was not simply a product of Alberta sectionalism as reflected in the Calgary-Edmonton rivalry. There was some support within and presumably without the province. Dr. A. O. MacRae suggested that each of the three provinces

⁴⁷Cited in E.B., Friday, July 12, 1907, p. 1. The article indicated that the proposed scheme would involve a link with McGill and Toronto. Rutherford at this time was in England but it was indicated that the proposal would be put before him when he returned in August.

⁴⁸C.A., Monday, July 15, 1907, p. 3. Presumably the location question would be settled at some future time. It is difficult to establish the source of the scheme and equally as difficult to believe that Calgary did not see itself as a, if not the, prime contender for the institution. The suspicions of those in Edmonton were, in all probability, not completely unfounded.

might have within its borders one or two faculties with the absolute control over the university as a whole being vested in a central council, composed of citizens drawn from each of the provinces.⁴⁹

The Leduc Representative favoured a tri-provincial university and felt that, as each province scarcely could afford a separate institution, it would be unwise to let provincial pride stand in the way of this wider scheme. As for location, that was not important since "the majority of students taking a university course have to leave home and it matters not whether they go 50 or 500 miles."⁵⁰ The Innisfail Free Lance stated that a consensus among the western press seemed to favour such a university scheme if for no other reason than cost. As for the location, it should not be a political decision but, among other things, consideration should be given to such factors as climate (preferably one of mild, short winters) and natural advantage such as scenery.⁵¹

⁴⁹C.A., Saturday, July 20, 1907, p. 3. Letter to the editor. MacRae felt that such inter-provincial co-operation would ensure that from the outset the degrees awarded would have recognized status and prestige. Also he felt that such a scheme would in no way mitigate against the establishment of any provincial university when, and if, such were felt to be necessary.

⁵⁰Leduc Representative, cited in C.A., Friday, July 26, 1907, p. 3. It indicated also that a combining of the resources of the three provinces more likely would appeal to philanthropists.

The argument about the distance students were prepared to travel certainly could be used to justify the Strathcona site. Calgary opposition liked to argue that Strathcona was too far away for many Calgary students.

⁵¹Innisfail Free Lance, Thursday, August 1, 1907, p. 1. An additional advantage of such a university would be that it could compete more easily with the eastern schools.

By the autumn of 1907 the western university movement was losing momentum and once again there was a concentration upon the university as a provincial institution--a move more in keeping with provincial desires.⁵² In Calgary the bitterness over losing the university was anything but dead and it appeared as though the issue would be fought in the political arena. To avoid this would have been one of the advantages of an inter-provincial scheme which, hopefully, would have resulted in government support but no party control. As it was it was declared that in Alberta graduates in the southern part of the province were showing a reluctance to register for Convocation and even if they desired to attend university council meetings they could not "as the university is placed in one corner of the province . . . "⁵³ The Calgary Herald saw in Convocation a political weapon and urged Calgary graduates to register and play an active part in university affairs and not leave matters in the hands of those from Edmonton and Strathcona.⁵⁴

⁵²It became evident, for example, that British Columbia was not too enthusiastic about an inter-provincial university--such at least was indicated to Dr. MacRae when he visited Victoria. See C.H., Thursday, August 15, 1907, p. 2.

⁵³C.A., Thursday, September 26, 1907, p. 3. The Albertan was very pessimistic and feared that Convocation would amount to nothing if the university "is conducted in the future with the same kind of unfairness and treachery to the interests of a province as characterized it at its birth, . . ."

⁵⁴C.H., Thursday, September 26, 1907, p. 6. See also the edition of Friday, September 27, 1907, p. 4. The Albertan doubted the possibility that southern graduates could prevent the domination of Convocation by those from Edmonton and Strathcona. See C.A., Friday, September 27, 1907, p. 3, and Monday, September 30, 1907, p. 3. An interesting observation on the number of graduates in the

Such was the state of affairs at the end of 1907 and the bringing to a close of a period which had seen the liveliest of debates and the rise of sectional jealousies, first over the site of the capital and then over that of the university. Had the university issue been settled by vote rather than by cabinet decree a more serene atmosphere might have prevailed. As it was however the issue gave rise to great resentment which could not but have future repercussions. Albertans generally were prepared to accept the fact that the provincial university would remain in Strathcona.

In 1908 much attention was focused upon the newly appointed president of the University of Alberta, Dr. H. M. Tory who arrived in January to commence his new duties.⁵⁵ Tory was not unaware of the

province is given by Dr. E. K. Broadus, first professor of English at the University of Alberta, who stated that, at the outset Alberta had no alumni but "scattered throughout the province, in numbers far larger than the casual observer would have suspected, were educated men and women, graduates of McGill and Toronto, of Dalhousie, of Oxford and Cambridge, of the Scotch [sic] universities and of universities in the middle west of the United States." E. K. Broadus, Saturday and Sunday (Toronto: Macmillan, 1935), p. 22.

Dr. O. A. MacRae, recounting many years later, said that 364 registered for the first convocation. Cited in C.H., November 1, 1958.

⁵⁵On October 25, 1907, Rutherford announced that Tory had been delegated by the government to conduct preliminary organizational work regarding the university, such work to begin in January, 1908. See E.B., Friday, October 25, 1907, p. 1--article on Dr. Torrey [sic].

By an amendment to the University Act passed in 1907 the Lieutenant-Governor in Council was authorized to appoint a president for the university. See Statutes of Alberta 1907, Amendment #32. In the autumn of 1907 Rutherford visited the eastern universities (he received an L.L.D. at Toronto on the occasion of the induction of Dr. Falconer as president) and his immediate choice for the Alberta position was Dr. H. M. Tory who had established a reputation for his community work in British Columbia. Also, both Rutherford and Tory

university squabbles in the province and in passing through Calgary en route to Edmonton said:

I am hoping to find that the university is to have the support and co-operation of all parts of the province. I am, of course, aware that a difference of opinion has existed as to its location, but hope that no remnant of feeling on that question will be allowed to influence the attitude of any section of the people in regard to the university itself. The university will belong to the province and the educational standing of the province will be bound up in its efficiency and its success. . . .⁵⁶

Calgary was not enthusiastic about Tory's appointment and he was attacked by some as having been responsible for selecting the Strathcona site.⁵⁷ It was said also that he had indicated that Calgary was to have received the university.⁵⁸ Tory was, therefore,

were McGill men. See: J. R. Kidd, "A Study of the Influence of Dr. H. M. Tory on Educational Policy in Canada" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1944), p. 62 and Appendix III.

⁵⁶C.H., Monday, January 20, 1908, p. 1. Tory indicated that courses in arts possibly could begin in the autumn, with such as engineering easily added if demanded.

⁵⁷In his Diary Tory stated that such agitation was led by R. B. Bennett who assumed that, since he had been appointed by a Liberal government, "I had been responsible for the purchase of the site. Actually I had nothing to do with it." Cited in E. A. Corbett, Henry Marshall Tory (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 93.

⁵⁸This misunderstanding stemmed from 1906 when Tory, returning to McGill from Vancouver, stopped in Calgary and met with a group interested in securing the capital. In his Diary he stated: "I had suggested to them that, now that the question of the Capital had been settled, if they could only forget about the capital and ask for the university, they would stand a good chance of getting it, but they seemed so sure that they could still get the Capital that they refused to offer any compromise." Cited in E. A. Corbett, op. cit., p. 93. See footnote 34 and the views of W. H. Alexander. Tory held however, along with many in Calgary, that there had been some jerryandering in the drawing of the constituency boundaries, and felt that, regarding the capital, "it is only the truth to say, that the constituencies had been so arranged that the majority result favour Edmonton rather than the Calgary site." Corbett, op. cit., p. 93.

under no illusions as to the difficulty of his task and because of the bitter controversy over the site he desired to get the university started as quickly as possible. In attempting to assess the patronage that might be expected he found that many teachers, being from the east, gave little encouragement to their students to enroll in the University of Alberta and, in the southern part of the province "an outstanding citizen of Calgary went so far as to canvass the schools in order to prevent the pupils going to the university."⁵⁹ However, it was decided to open the university in 1908 with 30 to 40 students expected.

The election to the university Senate also served to keep the university issue before the public and to add fuel to the sectional controversy. As early as February, 1908, it was being decried that the Senate was not going to be a truly representative body, that it would contain too many teachers and too few businessmen, that "no person outside Edmonton and Strathcona is making any effort to get the vacancies . . . " and that it was simply "beyond expectation that any person in the south will make any effort to get a position upon the senate."⁶⁰ As was expected the north dominated the elections and figured most prominently in the government appointments. The government was commended for having kept the party element out of the appointments but, nonetheless, the Senate was seen as the

⁵⁹Tory Diary, cited in Corbett, op. cit., p. 94. It is possible the reference is to R. B. Bennett.

⁶⁰C.A., Thursday, February 20, 1908, p. 3.

means whereby "Strathcona is to be carefully safeguarded and Calgary is to have no opportunity to become prominent."⁶¹ It was argued however that Calgary's position was one, to a large extent, of its own creation and had its candidates taken a more active interest probably they would have fared better. The southern tactics, based upon the assumption that the best qualified would be elected, seemingly had misfired.⁶²

By the end of March, 1908, following the Senate elections, it was rumoured that the opening of the university might be delayed. There had been for some time doubts as to the advisability of proceeding so soon with a university. The Albertan, a staunch supporter of an early opening, spoke of the opposition as being "well defined." "There seems to be a well defined movement among some persons to discourage the formation of a university at the present time. The Albertan confesses that that movement has Calgary

⁶¹C.A., Saturday, March 21, 1908, p. 3. See also the editions of February 29, 1908, p. 3, and March 6, 1908, p. 3. The attitude of the Calgary Herald was much the same and it predicted further deterioration in the relationship between the two cities. It criticized Cushing for not looking after Calgary's interests, and the government for not establishing a semblance of north-south balance in its appointments. C.H., Saturday, March 21, 1903, p. 6.

A bright spot was the naming of Mr. Justice C. A. Stuart of Calgary as Chancellor, but then he was a Liberal!

Charles Allan Stuart (1864-1926)--graduate of Toronto (LLB, 1884); 1897 moved to Calgary to practise law. Represented Glietzen in the Legislature (1905-1906); appointed to the Supreme Court of Alberta, 1907-1926; elected Chancellor of the University of Alberta 1908-1926.

⁶²There was little question but that the Calgary candidates were the best! There was considerable truth to the assertion that Calgarians did not assert themselves sufficiently in the elections.

for its birthplace . . . "63 However, following the first meeting of the Senate, March 30, 1908, there was little reason to doubt that the university would open in September. It would open however without the receipt of any land grant from Ottawa.

With regard to a land grant we are to be disappointed-- Dr. McIntyre and I saw Sir Wilfrid this morning. He was very kind but very emphatic about it, saying that he did not intend to do anything about it. He saw that the additional subsidy granted to the provinces made it impossible for the government to help.⁶⁴

The University of Alberta opened September 23, 1908, expecting an initial enrolment of approximately forty students. There was general resignation in Calgary although resentment towards the government was far from being dead. Tory could take some consolation from the fact that he had the support of MacRae of Western Canada College who had indicated to W. C. Murray that he would do everything possible "to keep the people here looking steadily northward."⁶⁵ Murray

⁶³C.A., Saturday, March 28, 1908, p. 3. The Albertan felt thus: "There must be one just university in the West, and that one . . . should be located in Calgary." However, accepting the fact that this was not to be, it urged a pushing forward with the provincial institution. There is no indication as to who were involved at this stage in the movement to discourage the start of a university at Strathcona.

⁶⁴R.P. Letter to Rutherford from Tory, April 14, 1908. Rutherford had indicated earlier that Laurier had all but promised such assistance, but this was before the subsidy had been increased.

For an account of the first meeting of the Senate to which H. W. Riley of Calgary was appointed Secretary pending the appointment of a permanent Registrar, see University of Alberta, Senate Minute Book, March 30, 1908.

⁶⁵T.P. Letter to Tory from W. C. Murray, September 15, 1908. Following a visit to Strathcona, Murray went to Calgary, saw MacRae and reported the tenor of the conversation to Tory.

suggested to Tory, as a means of boosting Calgary morale, that perhaps he could

get a good grip on the powers (and socialists) in the South and the artisans in Calgary by establishing technical schools such as have been recently established in Nova Scotia . . . The cost is not great and the work of organization and supervision not exceptionally heavy. The University would get all the credit. I am thinking of something similar for Saskatchewan. . . .⁶⁶

It would have taken more than the establishment of technical schools, at this time, to assuage Calgary's ruffled feathers. Even extension lecturers, arranged as early as February, 1909, were not that well received. Dr. Broadus, who sometimes went to Calgary to lecture, said that "the citizens of Calgary wanted a university of their own and received us with mixed feelings."⁶⁷ February saw interest being focused upon the impending provincial election. The university question did not disappear but became, in Calgary, an election issue.

On February 25, 1909, the House was dissolved and an election was called for March 22. There had taken place a seat redistribution with sixteen seats having been added, making a total of forty-one.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Ibid. The Calgary Herald was most bitter over the university issue. It stated for example that: "In the face of a definite pledge the university was stolen from it [Calgary] and its Liberal representative [Cushing] had not even the courage to resign in protest--Calgary will get nothing from the Liberals. . . ." Wednesday, October 21, 1908, p. 4. Again, in referring to Rutherford's opening of the Calgary Normal School: "Premier Rutherford was no doubt glad it was a normal school he was opening in Calgary. Mr. Cushing no doubt reflected on the way he was fooled in the location of the university." Saturday, November 7, 1908, p. 6.

⁶⁷Broadus, op. cit., p. 23. Kidd feels that it was the optimism of Tory and his staff which was a "determining factor in saving the University in the succeeding two years." Kidd, op. cit., p. 67.

⁶⁸Thomas, op. cit., pp. 63-64. The redistribution gave Calgary and Edmonton two seats each.

The government went to the people on the basis of its record on railroad policy, public works, education, telephones--and while this did not go unnoticed in Calgary, no opportunity was lost, especially by the Herald, to make political capital out of the university question. In its vendetta against Cushing the paper found a capable ally in R. E. Bennett.⁶⁹

In the eyes of the Calgary Herald the arch enemy was W. H. Cushing and every effort was made to blame him for losing both the capital and the university. He was a man of no value as a representative of Calgary.⁷⁰ Although not all by any means were happy with the results, the Liberals preferred to think of the capital and university issues as settled. The Conservatives, especially with regard to the university, felt that they had a good campaign issue. There was talk of the infinite possibilities lost to Calgary because she had lost the university--lost opportunities to the professional and commercial classes, to the artisans and to the citizens in

⁶⁹In the election of 1909 the Conservative Party was leaderless, although Dr. R. G. Brett of Banff was regarded as the nominal head. The Party ran two candidates in Calgary--Dr. T. H. Blow and R. B. Bennett. Bennett was elected while the Liberals carried the other seat with the re-election of Cushing.

Richard Bedford Bennett (1870-1947)--graduate of Dalhousie; came to Calgary in 1897 to practise law; served in the Territorial Legislature 1898-1905; M.P.P. for Calgary 1909-1911; elected to House of Commons 1911; leader of Conservative Party 1927; Prime Minister 1930-1935.

R. G. Brett (1851-1929)--M.D. (Toronto 1874); practised in Ontario, Winnipeg, Banff; member of the Territorial Legislature 1888-1901; Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta 1915-1925.

⁷⁰For example, see the vindictive editorial against Cushing, C.H., Friday, March 5, 1909, p. 4.

general who now would have to pay more for higher education. The Calgary Herald was emphatic: by sending Cushing to Edmonton Calgary had lost the university. "Premier Rutherford knew what he was about when he took away the university to his home town."⁷¹

Both Bennett and Dr. Blow, a prominent medical specialist, were quick to pursue the university question. Bennett deplored Calgary's loss and was supported by Blow who said:

. . . Three and a half years ago a delegation was sent to Ottawa to see about obtaining the capital for Calgary. On the return of this delegation they said that they had been unable to secure the capital, but that a compromise had been made, and that Calgary would get the university. This was just previous to election time, and when the election came on, owing to the promise that had been made many of the Conservatives relaxed their efforts, and some of them went so far as to vote for Mr. Cushing. . . .⁷²

⁷¹C.H., Friday, March 12, 1909, p. 4. The Herald paid little heed to an editorial in C.A., Thursday, March 11, 1909, p. 3, in which Cushing's figures were given to show that, financially speaking, Calgary was not being neglected by the government.

⁷²Cited in C.H., Tuesday, March 16, 1909, p. 1. Blow claimed that with the naming of Strathcona as the university site the Conservatives, supported by some Liberals, called for Cushing's resignation but that somehow the matter was smoothed over.

Thomas Henry Blow (1862-1932)--born in Ontario he studied medicine at McGill and practised in Calgary as an eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist. Besides medicine he was active in real estate and between the two he made a great deal of money. He sat as a Calgary Conservative member in the Provincial Legislature 1913-1923. In a telephone conversation in November, 1969, with Dr. J. W. Richardson of Calgary, a medical colleague of Blow and one who had known him since childhood, it was stated that Blow had been very successful and indeed became very wealthy. Richardson stated that, to the best of his knowledge, Blow's character was beyond reproach and that he was a medical practitioner of the highest repute.

In looking back over previous articles in the Albertan dealing with the shabby treatment accorded to Calgary by the Rutherford administration, Blow found it difficult to understand how that journal now could be supporting the government. The Calgary Herald suggested that this change in attitude may have been due to the fact that Cushing had given the Albertan job printing contracts.⁷³ In reply the Albertan well might have asked of Bennett, who "wept over the fate of the university," whether, had he been in the Legislature, he would have obtained the university for Calgary? It saw what the Herald did not or would not see, viz. that, after the present election, if the question of the university location were put to a popular vote "Calgary would not get one vote in 1,000 outside of this city."⁷⁴ In support of Cushing it said that he got Calgary "everything else that could be got."⁷⁵ Speaking at a Liberal meeting March 15 Cushing said: "We all know that the majority rules, and I never had the majority."⁷⁶ Bennett replied that in that case he should have

⁷³C.H., Friday, March 12, 1909, p. 4.

⁷⁴C.A., Wednesday, March 17, 1909, p. 3. Davidson wrote that "Calgary, by the narrow policy of R. B. Bennett, has been alienated from every other part of the province."

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Cited in C.H., Tuesday, March 16, 1909, p. 9. Speaking at a Liberal meeting March 20, Cushing said: "The only thing that we did not get for Calgary was the university. That was all . . . There has been nothing said about the way the public works have been carried on." Cited in C.H., Monday, March 22, 1909, p. 1.

Still, the loss of the university was resented by many, and, with some justification, the Herald could say that "Calgary was not given an even chance in the fight for the capital; it was not given an opportunity to secure the university. In both cases the dice were loaded . . . " C.H., Saturday, March 20, 1909, p. 4.

resigned.⁷⁷

Bennett declared that Calgary had a right to the university, if for no other reason than that of its wealth, wage-roll, trade and commerce. He protested against the discrimination shown the city and said: "I propose, if elected, to go to the legislature and to stand there day after day demanding that a college at least of the university shall come south."⁷⁸ He went on to say that there would be no let up in the struggle against the government and that "unless fairer counsels prevail, we will have two provinces."⁷⁹ In his view the motion of sectionalism really had been raised and practised by those in Edmonton: it was now time that it was accepted, if necessary, by those in Calgary and southern Alberta. Bennett talked a great deal about Calgary's university aspirations but largely, it is suspected, because they provided him with a convenient political weapon with which to attack the government. His political opportunism

⁷⁷C.H., Friday, March 19, 1909, p. 2. This remark was made at an election meeting held at St. Mary's Hall with Blow in attendance. The various speakers stressed the university issue and the general selfishness of the government towards Calgary and southern Alberta.

Cushing already had refused to resign saying that should he do so Calgary would be left without cabinet representation and would not have received the public works money spent thus far. Bennett and others retorted that for all intents and purposes Calgary was without representation and that it was obvious that Cushing was more interested in place and power than in his city's interests.

⁷⁸Cited in C.H., Saturday, March 20, 1909, p. 10. This is from a speech made by Bennett the previous Monday and printed verbatim in this edition. This was perhaps the first public utterance regarding the establishment of an off-campus college of the University of Alberta.

⁷⁹Ibid.

is brought out in R. B. Bennett, by E. Watkins.

The election held March 22 was a landslide for Rutherford. In Calgary both Cushing and Bennett were elected. The Liberal victory was not unexpected: the Calgary Herald attributing it to gerrymandering as a result of the latest redistribution and to the fact that it was a hurried affair. It saw in the return of Cushing a tribute to his honesty--not to his initiative.⁸⁰ The Albertan saw Cushing's election as a vote of confidence and Bennett's, not as a vote against the government, but rather a reflection of the "disgust at the mimic opposition in the last House."⁸¹ It stated however that "it cannot be denied that with many the fact that Calgary did not get justice in the university matter had its effect."⁸²

Following the election Tory and the university were to face difficult times. Tory was doing his utmost to create in the minds of the people an image of a university which was to be truly a provincial institution. This task was far more difficult than he had thought.

. . . Local clauses [sic] play a much more important part than I deemed possible. I have never lived in a community so bubbling over with local prejudices. . . . It is almost impossible to get a discussion on any topic of

⁸⁰C.H., Tuesday, March 23, 1909, p. 4. For the election results see Appendix II.

⁸¹C.A., Tuesday, March 23, 1909, p. 3.

⁸²Ibid. The paper felt that Blow did better than expected. He was lovable but no politician.

public interest on any basis other than its effect upon the price of real estate.⁸³

Tory perhaps got some consolation from the fact that in Saskatchewan Murray too was experiencing difficulties with the southern part of the province but, as it turned out, the problem there was not nearly as explosive as the Calgary-Edmonton controversy--a situation which was destined to get worse.⁸⁴ The Alberta situation was complicated further by the fact that beginning in 1909 the government became deeply involved in the railroad issue and had neither the time nor the inclination to worry too much about university problems.⁸⁵ Such was the situation by 1910 that work on the first university building, Athabasca Hall, was threatened with stoppage as no funds had been

⁸³T.P. Letter from Tory to Murray, April 13, 1909. Tory, like Rutherford, believed that the university should be located close to the seat of government, and did not think Saskatoon a good choice for the University of Saskatchewan. He wrote to Murray: "I saw with regret the decision which had been reached by your Board with regard to the University. . . ."

⁸⁴Murray wrote to Tory regarding the difficulties arising out of the choosing of Saskatoon as the university site. " . . . Our troubles with the south are not very serious. Regina is feeling very sore, but our policy is to let her alone, and not irritate her with arguments and remonstrances. Moose Jaw has come around and will loyally support the University. A number of students from Regina and Moose Jaw have gone to the eastern universities. That was to be expected, and is not a grief." T.P., November 27, 1909.

⁸⁵The railroad issue involved the construction of a railroad from Edmonton to, or near to, Fort McMurray. It was to be called the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway. The Rutherford Administration let the contract to an American firm and agreed to pay a rate far in excess of what was necessary to build the line. The issue eventually became a scandal, forced Rutherford out of office, and had serious financial repercussions for the university. For an account of the railroad question see L. G. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 58-133.

voted for the university. It was during these difficult times that "an agitation to move the University to Calgary became stronger and more insistent."⁸⁶

Meanwhile, throughout these troubled months the university was able not only to remain open but to enlarge its scope by laying a framework for the establishment throughout the province of a system of affiliated colleges. At a meeting of the Senate, June 10, 1909, the finance committee submitted an interim report stating that "agreement was arrived at for the affiliation of preparatory schools and colleges. Under the arrangement the Alberta College, Edmonton, and the Western Canada College, Calgary, will become affiliated colleges in the university scheme."⁸⁷ Also, the university was expanding its own offerings and it was decided to establish a department of civil engineering, a faculty of agriculture and an extension department, the latter to be organized as a separate department.⁸⁸

⁸⁶Kidd, op. cit., p. 68. During these difficult days Tory, backed by the Senate, succeeded in making adequate financial arrangements with a bank so that the university could continue to function. There is no doubt but that in these formative years the university owed much to Tory who was, as one of his successors, R. C. Wallace, said "essentially a builder of institutions. . . . He delighted in seeing things grow. He was less interested if for any reason growth could not be continued." Cited in Corbett, op. cit., p. vii.

⁸⁷C.A., Friday, June 11, 1909, p. 1. The affiliation question was almost as old as the university itself. Tory earlier had recommended that the Senate establish a committee to deal with the matter. See: University of Alberta, Senate Minute Book, Tuesday, October 30, 1908.

⁸⁸The establishment of the faculty of agriculture proved to be an explosive issue as a number of communities, including Calgary, fought against its being put in Strathcona. Tory, however, favoured institutional unity. He wrote: "On account of my efforts to start

An investigation was started too into the possibility of establishing a law faculty.⁸⁹

As though Tory and the university did not have problems enough, the resignation from the Senate of Dr. Kennedy of Macleod, in the summer of 1909, threatened further complications. Kennedy claimed that the Senate had no real power and did not receive the recognition due it. Even the Calgary Herald thought the incident unfortunate and came to the support of Tory who was praised for his leadership and inspiration.⁹⁰ The difficulty passed, not without being aired by both sides in the press, and Chancellor Stuart was able to counter Kennedy's charges effectively and to show that Kennedy rarely attended Senate meetings even though ample notice was given and some of the meetings held in Calgary for the convenience of southern members.⁹¹

an Agricultural Faculty, I have become the greatest rascal in Western Canada. . . . However, I intend to carry the war into the enemy's territory and shall try to surround Calgary with a group of communities that are friendly to us by doing everything I can to make them interested in the University work." T.P. Letter from Tory to Murray, November 30, 1909.

⁸⁹With regard to a law faculty Tory was interested in the practise of the eastern universities and sought the advice of, among others, Falconer of Toronto. For example, see: Falconer Papers, University of Toronto Archives, Letter to Tory, February 22, 1909. Hereinafter referred to as F.P. As was the case with agriculture an attempt was made to 'decentralize' the teaching of law. Calgary, later on, attempted to establish a law faculty.

⁹⁰The paper said, not in complete truth, that the "southern part of the province has, since the university was organized, forgotten the feeling engendered by its location and has given its loyal support. And it will continue to do so . . . " C.H., Monday, July 12, 1909, p. 4. Such sentiments were hardly those of Calgary!

⁹¹For the position of Chancellor Stuart see C.H., Wednesday, September 15, 1909, pp. 1 and 2.

By 1910 it hoped that there would be a general improvement and in some respects such a hope was not unfounded. The university had registered 103 full time students of whom 11 were engaged in graduate study.⁹² The political situation gradually became more settled with the replacement of Rutherford by Arthur Sifton and, although Sifton never had the paternal interest of his predecessor in the university, finances were put upon a more stable footing. Throughout the province as a whole the university was coming to enjoy increasingly widespread support--Calgary excepted. In Calgary the opposition was becoming better organized and 1910 saw the formal launching of a new university scheme--one to rival the University of Alberta. Kidd remarks that the agitation for transferring the university to Calgary began to disappear in 1910.⁹³ However, it disappeared only to be replaced by a movement to establish a separate university in Calgary and as a result the entire university question became more complicated and more explosive.

⁹²T.P. Letter from Tory to Murray, November 30, 1909.

⁹³Kidd, op. cit., p. 70.

CHAPTER II

THE LAUNCHING OF THE CALGARY PROJECT

The paramount political concern of 1910 was the railroad issue, which occupied the attention of the House for many months. This situation was to affect adversely the provincial university as no time was given to the voting of funds. The situation was such that Rutherford was incapable of dealing with it and resigned as Premier May 26. He was replaced by Sifton.¹

Tory meanwhile was occupied with problems of university unity and finance and thus became involved in the political entanglements. The immediate problem was that Rutherford as Minister of Education had instructed Tory to proceed with the university building plans on the assurance that the government would advance the money; however "after the change of government, the House closed without having passed a vote for either the buildings or the salaries of the staff."² Tory, having spent some \$60,000 on the authority of Rutherford, now stood accused of spending money not approved by the Legislature. Sifton

¹In February, 1910, Cushing resigned his portfolio as Minister of Public Works. Many expected that he would be chosen to succeed Rutherford. Sifton's appointment reflected in part the need of the government to have someone who could counter Bennett effectively. The Conservative opposition, though small, was able to create a difficult situation in the House owing to Bennett's power of oratory and his capacity for bitter criticism. See: Corbett, op. cit., pp. 103 ff.

²Corbett, op. cit., p. 115. The House was prorogued shortly after Sifton was appointed Premier and did not meet again until November 10, 1910, when it sat until December 15. See: Thomas, op. cit., pp. 69 ff.

was not interested particularly in the well-being of the university and it is little wonder that Tory, after explaining the situation to him, "went away feeling certain that Mr. Sifton had joined Mr. Bennett and his supporters in their plan to move the university to Calgary."³

Tory was as determined as ever to make the university one with a province-wide appeal and to ensure that it would remain in Strathcona as a unified institution and not consist of various units scattered throughout the province. This explains his determination, for example, to put the faculty of agriculture at Strathcona. He was helped in his centralizing approach by the new University Act which tied the various professional groups to the university. There were those however, principally Bennett and a Calgary-based group, who were equally as determined that the faculty of agriculture should be built in Calgary; that, if the provincial university were to be a unified one, it should be transferred to Calgary and, if there was to be no transferral, then Calgary should build its own university, completely independent of provincial control. A leading spokesman in favour of the faculty of agriculture in Calgary was W. J. Tregillus of the United Farmers of Alberta and, although Tory was able

³Corbett, op. cit., p. 116. The new University Act of 1910 provided for a regular source of income for the university and, as mentioned previously, created a Board of Governors, which was empowered to borrow money and to issue debentures subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council who would guarantee them. The principal sources of income were: 20 per cent of Net Educational Tax; 20 per cent of Corporation Tax; 50 per cent of Succession Duties; Student Fees. See Statutes of Alberta, Chapter VII, 1910.

satisfactorily to clarify the issue at the U.F.A.'s annual meeting in 1910, by that time the movement for a separate university in Calgary was well underway.⁴

By April, 1910, the Calgary university idea was starting to take definite shape and the indications were that such a scheme would be endorsed by many of the city's leading citizens.

That Calgary will within the near future have a full-fledged university of its own, through the working out of a scheme fathered by Dr. Blow, the eminent physician, and backed up by many of the most successful business and professional men of the city, has now become a probability.⁵

Blow was extremely optimistic about the success of the scheme, an optimism based in part upon the fact that the new university was to be organized as a business venture. He said of the project that "it is going to be a joint stock operation pure and simple. . . . First of all we will have to provide for the site. Now we expect that we will get the site or a great part of the necessary land at least

⁴W. J. Tregillus (1859-1914)--came to Calgary from England in 1902; was a rancher; head of the United Farmers of Alberta; had served as Chairman of the Public School Board; at the time of his death was serving a second term as alderman.

Mr. Tregillus was an adventurous, public-spirited individual. Upon coming to Calgary he engaged in ranching and then branched out into other business activities, including brick-making. His interest in education was great and he willingly gave time, money, and property to establish a university in Calgary. Before World War I he had become reasonably wealthy but at the time of his death in 1914 he was bankrupt owing to the war and an over-extension of his business interests. This information was given to the author in an interview with Tregillus' daughter, Mrs. Sanford, Edmonton, Saturday, 30 May, 1970.

⁵C.H., Monday, April 18, 1910, p. 1.

given to us."⁶ He envisioned also the possibility that Western Canada College might desire to be absorbed into the new university company, in which case the shareholders in the College would be given university stock of equivalent value, with the rest of the shares, up to the capitalization value of the company, being sold publicly. One advantage to absorbing the College would be that, for the time being at least, buildings would not have to be built. Everything considered Blow envisioned the scheme as a safe and profitable investment and, given the expected rise in land values, felt it not unreasonable for an investor to expect an annual return of six per cent.⁷ He saw an almost unlimited growth potential and felt that, at the outset, growth could be stimulated by the giving of free sites to theological colleges and schools of practical science.

There was no doubting the general optimism in Calgary. There was a feeling that such a move was inevitable, that Calgary had the requisite location, climate, prosperity and the 'right class' of people to benefit from and to support a university. It was emphasized that the scheme was to be a privately financed venture relying

⁶Ibid. It is not clear whether by this time Blow had been in touch with Tregillus regarding a donation of land. However, it is not improbable that something had been said in this regard. It was envisioned that about 160 acres would be needed; however, any amount in excess of this could serve as a future source of revenue. It was expected that the people near the site, wherever that might be, would be willing to part with some of their land in return for the proximity of the university causing their remaining holdings to appreciate in value.

⁷Blow felt that the tuition fees would be such that, in effect, each student would pay practically the entire cost of educating himself and therefore would not be a drain upon the institution.

in no way upon state assistance. Also stressed was the fact that such a university need conflict in no way with the one at Strathcona. The Calgary Herald, in an editorial supporting Blow's scheme and predicting the emergence of the largest and most important such institution in Western Canada, could not resist firing a broadside at Tory's concept of university unity.

State-aided educational institutions are exposed to the dangers of a too forced growth. They are not sufficiently hard up to make them hardy. They are tempted to expand more rapidly than circumstances warrant, instance the university at Strathcona, which before it has made even a second year's record in any direction, would like to reach out and absorb agricultural education, medical education and every other kind of education it can lay its hands on.⁸

It was not long before there was some public response to the university plan and land was offered for a site by W. J. Tregillus, apparently after some solicitations had been made by Blow. Tregillus wrote to Blow:

In answer to your inquiry with regard to a site for a university, I am quite prepared to give for that purpose a quarter section of land: being the northeast quarter of section 14, provided an institution worthy of the name be established and conducted by men of business ability.⁹

⁸C.H., Monday, April 18, 1910, p. 6. This was a strange reading of things given the financial situation faced by Tory and the University of Alberta. Financial stringency might be conducive to hardiness but the fate of Calgary College a few years hence is evidence that such need not be the case.

⁹The letter was dated April 19 and appeared in the C.H., Friday, April 22, 1910, p. 1. Tregillus' terms were accepted and Calgary real estate firms were quick to begin offering for sale lots near the proposed site.

In 1903, W. J. Tregillus took title to a northern half section and the adjacent southwest quarter of section 14, township 24, range 2, west of the 5th Meridian: all told about 480 acres. The property offered as the university site was the northeast quarter. This property was not formally transferred to Calgary College until January 16, 1911. Calgary Land Titles Records.

Hopefully the adjacent property owners would follow suit. Should the total land grants be sizable then much of the land could be used to form the basis of an endowment fund for the establishing of academic chairs. Besides land it was hoped that the wealthy would give money for the erection of buildings--such to be named after the donors. Until such time as the proper machinery could be set up provision was made to establish a provisional committee to take charge of all donations--donations which quickly amounted to 340 acres valued at about \$250,000.¹⁰ The estimated cost of an Arts building was \$150,000; so, it was expected that very shortly the financial condition would be such that the building could be built and maintained without any debt being incurred. Meanwhile, until some physical plant was available, Blow offered the free use for one year, beginning in the autumn of 1910, of classroom space in his new downtown building. A marked characteristic of the Calgary university movement was its concern with business. The university was seen as a prospective money-making venture; most of the active supporters were successful businessmen; the curriculum, or much of it, was to have been devoted to practical education of value in the commercial world. Academic values seldom were mentioned; obviously they were regarded as being of secondary importance.

In spite of the fact that Blow's scheme seemed to be progressing favourably not everyone agreed that Calgary should have such

¹⁰This claimed value of the land was highly inflated. Land at this time in the proposed university area was not valued at over \$700 per acre.

an institution independent of the one at Strathcona. There was still some support for the idea of transferring the provincial university to Calgary and merging it with the proposed new institution. In some ways it was felt that the idea was not impractical, given the political situation in the Legislature and the precarious financial condition of the University of Alberta. It was true that some money had been spent by the government in acquiring the Strathcona site but, all in all, the total amount spent thus far was not great. Corbett suggests that the Calgary faction might have succeeded in their design had their approach been more sensible--at least "a compromise might have been effected if the Calgary members had not changed their tactics and demanded a charter for a University of Calgary."¹¹ The Herald solidly supported the transfer--the province could give some support and this, plus the support Calgarians in all likelihood would be willing to give and the land endowment already accumulated, would ensure the future financial stability of the Calgary-based institution. Or, in lieu of a transfer:

The province might wisely even go as far as to abandon its provincial university scheme entirely for the present and give a generous subsidy to a new and healthy institution. The present classes and staff at Strathcona as well might be turned into the new university.¹²

There is little doubt that throughout the spring of 1910

¹¹Corbett, op. cit., p. 116. Corbett perhaps was too optimistic regarding Calgary's chances, yet at the time, given Sifton's seeming indifference to the University's plight, the feasibility of such a move could not be ruled out completely.

¹²C.H., Friday, April 29, 1910, p. 6.

considerable interest had been generated in Calgary among influential people regarding university affairs. At the outset however much of the discussion centred about the kind of institution desired. Blow submitted a report recommending the establishment of a university to the Board of Trade, but some members of the Board had certain reservations about the scheme. R. J. Hutchings, who alone voted against the proposal, felt that the project should be abandoned unless Calgary could get the provincial university because the city, in the long run, would not be prepared to support an independent institution. Dr. Lafferty was among those who felt that the provincial university should be transferred to Calgary, but should Edmonton not agree to this, then he would support the idea of a separate university for Calgary. Discussed also were questions of size. There were some, for example, Lafferty, who did not favour the idea of a small university and therefore preferred the transferring of the University of Alberta to Calgary and perhaps merging it with the Blow scheme. Others, notably W. M. Davidson, publisher of the Albertan, favoured an institution patterned after the small liberal arts colleges in the United States, feeling that it could render a greater educational service to the public and would be cheaper to maintain. The Board of Trade at its meeting on May 5 accepted Blow's report and decided to urge the city council to contribute \$150,000 towards the establishment of a university. It was hoped that a matching grant would be forthcoming from the province. Interest was shown also in investigating the possibility of obtaining

a land grant from Ottawa.¹³

The talk of a Calgary university had repercussions outside the city and generally the idea found no support. The scheme was seen by some as a bluff designed to force the government to bow to the wishes of the Calgary Herald and at best would be regarded as deliberate bribery by a government seeking increased support in the

¹³C.H., Friday, May 6, 1910, p. 13. Hutchings alone had a realistic view of the costs involved and of the city's attitude, although it was not only that the city would not single-handedly support a university but financially could not. As for the obtaining of land from Ottawa that issue had been settled before the University of Alberta was started: it was naive to think that federal policy would be changed.

A report of the Board of Trade meeting was carried in the E.B., Saturday, May 7, 1910, p. 9. It pointed out that the Board endorsed a resolution submitted to the Presbyterian Synod of Alberta calling upon the Calgary presbyters to ask for a theological college, with the question of a site to be left to a meeting of the general assembly. The idea of such a college for Alberta had been discussed for some time and apparently the college was going to be built in Strathcona. At a meeting of the synod April 10 it was agreed that the matter of a college would be held in abeyance for a time so that the most advantageous site could be chosen, but, affiliation with the provincial university was favoured. See the account in C.H., Thursday, April 28, 1910, p. 1. At a meeting of the General Assembly in Halifax in June, 1910, it was decided that a theological seminary would be built in Edmonton in conjunction with the University of Alberta. See E.B., Tuesday, June 7, 1910, p. 2 and Thursday, June 9, 1910, p. 3. Blow's scheme called for the attracting of such church affiliated colleges to Calgary.

Robert John Hutchings (1866-1937)--educated in England; entered the saddlery business in Winnipeg; 1889 organized the Great West Saddlery Co. in Calgary with H. W. Riley; served on the first City Council after the city was incorporated; served for many years on the School Board; very active in the Board of Trade; a member of the first Senate of the University of Alberta.

James Delamere Lafferty (1853?-1920)--came to Winnipeg from Ontario in 1881 to practise medicine and to Calgary 1885; Chief Surgeon for the C.P.R. and first President of the Alberta College of Physicians and Surgeons; elected mayor in 1890; established and operated a private banking system operating from Winnipeg to the Pacific coast.

south. The moving of the provincial university to Calgary hardly was possible under Rutherford, and if Calgary desired to proceed with its own university plans, more thought should have been given to the financial aspect. The experience of Ontario indicated that the "province cannot support two universities. If it were to try it would have two puny third-rate affairs instead of one first class institution."¹⁴ As for the obtaining of a provincial grant for a Calgary university there was little chance that such would be voted by the Legislature. Therefore, if "Calgary wants a university of its own . . . they will have to do it with their own money for the people of the province will not stand for any provincial grant for a second university."¹⁵ Without alluding to the grant question, similar sentiments were echoed by the Nanton News which said that Calgary had as much right as any other city to propose such a university scheme and "if the people are willing to pay the bill nobody else has any kick coming."¹⁶

The Calgary university supporters advanced many arguments to justify their stand, arguments apart from that of Calgary having been cheated by the government. It was stressed that the University

¹⁴Lethbridge Herald, Wednesday, May 4, 1910, p. 2. Hereinafter referred to as L.H.

¹⁵L.H., Wednesday, May 11, 1910, p. 2.

¹⁶Nanton News cited in L.H., Monday, May 23, 1910, p. 2. To this the L.H. replied, after again referring to the grant and the inability of the province to support a second university: "Anyway, Calgary's attempt to establish a second university, if successful, is certain to damage the cause of higher education in Alberta."

of Alberta was not truly a provincial institution--the Albertan, for instance, often referred to it as the "Strathcona institution" and, being so situated the distance involved was a handicap to the southern students. A second university would create an atmosphere of healthy rivalry and, as far as money was concerned, Calgary did not seek permanent provincial support; rather it desired one grant of \$150,000 which was to do for all time. Such arguments generally were unconvincing, even to many within Calgary itself, and as the opposition to the scheme crystallized it became evident that the major fear was that a second institution, instead of providing healthy rivalry, would intensify sectional animosities which in turn would have a damaging effect upon the struggling provincial university. The end result could be nothing but an intensifying of the already existent discord. Ultimately the question was whether in Alberta there was to be university unity or university diversity. This factor was stressed in an editorial in the Lethbridge Herald. "The Calgary university seeks provincial aid. It shouldn't get it. . . . Once a Calgary university was assisted we would have precedent established for aid for universities at Red Deer and Lethbridge, and so on, and the people of this province will not favor any such idea."¹⁷ The Medicine Hat Times remarked:

¹⁷L.H., Thursday, May 19, 1910, p. 2.

William Asbury Buchanan (1876-1954)--journalist; came to Alberta in 1905 and established the Lethbridge Herald; elected M.P.P. for Lethbridge 1909 and became Minister Without Portfolio; elected to House of Commons as M.P. for Medicine Hat 1911 and 1917; appointed to the Senate in 1925.

Calgary has been making considerable noise lately in their clamor for a university in that city. Whether a university is needed at Calgary just now, or at any place in the province outside the provincial university at Strathcona, is something that has not been looked into very closely.¹⁸

All the criticism notwithstanding the Calgary university group pushed ahead--with optimism if little else. Blow was busy attempting to secure a grant of \$150,000 from the city. In May he had addressed the City Council and reported upon the progress of the scheme. He told Council that the promoters already had had placed at their disposal over 400 acres of land, with the Tregillus site alone valued at \$75,000. Besides the land he indicated that very generous gifts of money had been received without solicitation. The aldermen were sufficiently impressed and interested that they decided to submit a by-law asking for \$150,000 for the university. It was agreed however that the by-law would be submitted as soon as possible after a charter for the proposed university had been secured from the provincial government.¹⁹

The political situation caused by the railroad scandal reached a crisis with the resignation of Rutherford and the swearing in as Premier of A. L. Sifton, May 26, 1910. Almost immediately there was speculation as to the matters to be dealt with by the Legislature with the Calgary university question mooted as one of the issues. There was concern in Edmonton on the part of Tory and the university

¹⁸Medicine Hat Times cited in C.A., Saturday, June 11, 1910, p. 3.

¹⁹C.H., Wednesday, May 18, 1910, p. 1.

over the Calgary venture which certainly had no place in Tory's scheme for the organization of higher education in Alberta. There were some who saw the Calgary scheme as being aimed deliberately at challenging the provincial university but it was unlikely, as the Calgary Herald claimed, that the Calgary university issue was the direct cause of a movement in the north aimed at dividing Alberta into two provinces.²⁰ If such a movement did indeed exist it was not taken seriously. What did exist however, and had for a long time, was sectionalism and the Calgary venture certainly stimulated north-south antagonism. In any event, judging by the land and cash donations which supposedly had been made, it would appear that by the end of May, 1910, some considerable enthusiasm was being shown in Calgary for Blow's scheme--success was assured, donations were expected to keep coming, and the university, with city backing, would be launched on a solid foundation. Such optimism was understandable although it is doubtful if any of the promoters had an understanding of just how costly such a venture would be. The Calgary Herald, undoubtedly reflecting a not uncommon view, naively asserted that provincial financial assistance could be expected.²¹

The formal launching of the Calgary university movement was a meeting of interested citizens in Blow's office, Wednesday, June 1, 1910. It was asserted that considerable donations of land and money had been received, with much more promised, and that so far these

²⁰C.H., Thursday, May 26, 1910, p. 1.

²¹C.H., Tuesday, May 31, 1910, p. 6.

had been looked after by a number of provisional trustees. The time had come however to take definite action and to plan for the immediate future of the institution. Blow was appointed chairman and a motion was carried authorizing the meeting to resolve itself into an association to organize a Calgary university, to apply for a provincial charter (all those present and others to be added were to be regarded as the applicants for the charter) and to take any other organizational steps deemed to be necessary. Also, a committee was established to consider a plan of operation, to outline to the next meeting a proposed charter, and to look into the question of organizing a company for the purpose of administering the property from which funds could be derived for university use.²²

By June, with the Calgary university scheme formally underway the serious talk about transferring the University of Alberta came to an end. Upwards of \$200,000 already had been spent at Strathcona, the Faculty of Arts and Science had completed two years of operation, the attendance of over one hundred was expected to double in the next year, and the first building was nearing completion. The decision of the Presbyterian General Assembly to locate on the Strathcona campus confirmed in many minds the permanence of

²²For an account of this meeting, see: C.A., Thursday, June 2, 1910, p. 1. The committee which was appointed consisted of: H. W. Riley, J. Muir, J. W. Davidson, P. Burns, Rev. G. W. Kerby, E. H. Crandell, J. Hextall, A. Price, P. Turner Bone, A. J. Sayre, and L. P. Strong. Apart from these, also present at the meeting were: A. E. Cross, E. Bagg, D. Blow, H. Neilson, G. Bryan, Col. J. Walker, G. A. Hadfield, W. Georgeson, J. H. Woods, G. Hope Johnston, G. H. Webster, Sen. Loughheed, J. S. Dennis, R. R. Jamieson, T. J. S. Skinner, and A. J. McArthur.

of the site.²³ Likewise the prospect of the erection of affiliated religious colleges added impetus to the Calgary university movement.²⁴ Already, however, the Calgary project was encountering difficulties over the proposed site and a committee in charge reported on June 27 that no definite site had been chosen. This information was released so as to "correct the impression which is being taken advantage of by real estate dealers that the university

²³Strathcona Plaindealer, cited in C.A., Monday, June 20, 1910, p. 3. Certainly the transferring of the provincial university to Calgary never was considered seriously by those in any position to recommend such action.

²⁴C.H., Monday, June 6, 1910, p. 6 reported that Tregillus, Jackson and another property owner in the vicinity of the proposed university site each had offered ten acres to the Methodist Conference, then in session at Red Deer, to establish a preparatory college in Calgary. The site offered supposedly was near to but not exactly adjoining that of the university.

The prime mover behind the Methodist College was the Rev. G. W. Kerby who was confident that the General Conference scheduled to meet in August in Victoria would approve the idea of a college to become affiliated with the university of Calgary when such was in operation. No financial problems were expected and two donors already had given \$5,000 each--and this was unsolicited! Ultimately the college was to be a residential one, preparing students for university entrance but teaching other subjects as well. Meanwhile, until a definite decision was made regarding a site, the college would conduct classes in the Blow Building, beginning in the autumn of 1910. See C.H., Friday, July 22, 1910, p. 7, and C.A., Friday, July 22, 1910, p. 1.

It was reported in the C.A., Saturday, July 23, 1910, p. 3, that both the Baptists and the Anglicans were considering erecting colleges, therefore it was expected that "by the time that the Calgary University is well underway it will be surrounded by a very complete organization of preparatory or affiliated colleges." This proved to be a pious hope. With regard to the Anglicans, Winspear remarked that the university authorities proposed offering the Anglican Diocese a site of ten acres on the new campus for a theological college and a preparatory school. A. D. Winspear, "Bishop Pinkham College," Golden West, March-April, 1966 (Calgary: Golden West Publishing Ltd.), p. 31.

will be built on the property offered by Mr. W. J. Tregillus."²⁵

The difficulties encountered were by no means local and the university scheme found an increasingly unfavourable press elsewhere in the province which in turn served to keep alive sectional animosities and local jealousies. The Edmonton Capital harped upon the theme of Calgary's wishing to injure Edmonton and the north and it piously opined how, had the university been located in Calgary, Edmonton would have refrained from action which might have injured it.²⁶ In reply it was stressed how the university had been promised to Calgary and then 'stolen' by Edmonton--a ruse which reflected nothing more than the deception and double-dealing of Rutherford. Obviously a point of no return had been reached--Calgary believed that the time had come to establish a university in the southern part of the province and it intended to proceed with its plans. It was absolutely incomprehensible to many that Edmontonians or anyone else should be so naive as to think that Calgarians were willing to spend a vast sum of money simply to do injury to any other part of the province or to any other institution existing therein. What did emerge, however, out of all of the squabbling was that Calgary

²⁵C.A., Tuesday, June 28, 1910, p. 1. It was reported that land over two miles away from the Tregillus property already was absurdly high at \$50-\$60 per acre and that land contiguous to the property was so costly that it would be difficult to expand the site. The article indicated that the site committee was giving serious consideration to the taking of 480 acres in a different part of the city, nearer to the business centre and railroad facilities.

²⁶Edmonton Capital cited in C.A., Tuesday, July 5, 1910, p. 3.

was thinking not only of a university but of one in receipt of provincial financial assistance--support which it claimed as a right.

One editorial stated that:

As it will do its share in educating the people of the province it is only reasonable to suppose that it will receive a certain amount of assistance from the province. It is our money, remember, that is going to maintain the Strathcona institution . . . but the Capital believes that it is an outrage if we should suggest that an institution established in Calgary should receive a portion of the money devoted to higher education.²⁷

The Albertan had been the foremost champion of the Calgary project; it had stressed how it was to have been basically a Calgary institution, maintained by Calgarians to serve the needs of their own students. In the beginning there was to be no government assistance sought; then there was talk of asking for a single grant the amount of which no one really knew but the estimates ranged up to \$250,000, and now it was being proposed that a charter be granted giving the Calgary institution the same financial consideration as that given to the University of Alberta! What had happened to the concept of a private university sufficiently endowed? What happened to the support Calgarians presumably were willing to give? Could it be that the endowment had not materialized? In attempting to unravel the situation one paper concluded that:

²⁷C.A., Tuesday, July 5, 1910, p. 3. It emphasized that with the city's being willing to grant \$150,000, citizens giving 500 acres of land, and with the overall prospect of raising some \$1,000,000 in money and land then it was only fitting that such a university, doing the work of a public institution, should receive both assistance and encouragement from the province.

Either the Albertan and others who made these claims did not know what they were talking about or else they deliberately tried to mislead the people. There may be another alternative. The previous professions may have been sincere and with knowledge, but since then the thing has fallen through.²⁸

The project certainly had not collapsed but there was no doubt about the fact that a petition to be submitted to Sifton was circulated in Calgary and that it contained, among other things, a request for financial assistance. The petition read:

Whereas the citizens of Calgary and the surrounding district are desirous of having a university with power to grant degrees in arts, sciences, medicine, law, music, and other such powers as are usually granted to universities, established at or near the City of Calgary, to be known as the University of Calgary: and whereas it is desirable that a charter be granted to the said university embodying such powers: and whereas it is desirable that said university should be granted equal aid from the province of Alberta with the University of Alberta, established at Strathcona. We, the undersigned citizens of Calgary and district, and elsewhere in the province hereby humbly petition you and the government of which you are the head, to grant a charter to the University of Calgary with powers aforesaid;

And to grant public aid to the University of Calgary, equal to that granted to the University of Alberta.²⁹

²⁸L.H., Tuesday, July 5, 1910, p. 2. This journal felt that it represented the opinion of southern Alberta. It remained absolutely opposed to any provincial money going to a Calgary university. If Calgary desired a university let it stand by its initial promise of not asking for a penny from the public purse. In reality however this paper opposed the idea of there being two universities in the province. Between the Lethbridge Herald and the Albertan no love was lost, even though both papers were Liberal. The Albertan felt that "but for the support of papers like the Herald, Premier Rutherford would not have dared to locate everything in the north country. The Herald was responsible for most of it . . . " C.A., Thursday, July 14, 1910, p. 3. The influence of the Herald was exaggerated but there is no doubt that it supported the government loyally.

²⁹Cited in E.B., Saturday, July 9, 1910, p. 4.

Apart from being involved with the petition the university promoters were again busy trying to persuade the city to give financial assistance. On July 25 a deputation headed by Blow appeared before the City Council to urge the submission of a university money by-law. It was then moved and carried:

That this Council heartily endorses the establishment of a University in the vicinity of Calgary and would approve the introduction of a by-law to be submitted to the rate-payers for their approval, said by-law to be for the sum of \$150,000.00, but that the money raised under the debentures be held until the university receives a Provincial Charter.³⁰

This action by City Council certainly encouraged the university promoters. It was felt that any doubt existing as to the interest in the city of Calgary in promoting the cause of higher education throughout all of central and southern Alberta now would be dispelled. The city's support was seen as the guarantee for success and undoubtedly some felt that this support could in turn be used as a lever to obtain provincial support. Optimism ran high: one man influential in the university cause said: "I shall never be content nor cease my efforts until I see a noble university, surrounded by a galaxy of affiliated colleges crowning that compact of hills."³¹ Outside

³⁰Calgary City Council Minutes, July 25, 1910, p. 158.

³¹Cited in C.A., Wednesday, July 27, 1910, p. 3. The person in question is not named but in all likelihood it was Blow.

The Albertan summed up the feeling of many as regards the by-law by asserting that if Calgary wanted a university the by-law had to be passed--if it failed to pass this would mean that a university was not desired and accordingly would not be had. C.A., Tuesday, August 2, 1910, p. 3.

Calgary, however, the optimism was less pronounced and one journal probably spoke for a large number when it stated, regarding the \$150,000 by-law: "If they are depending on a grant from the legislature to supplement this grant before they use it, the money will double itself at bank interest before it is used."³²

By the end of July attention was starting to be given to a consideration of the type of institution Calgary should have. Some envisioned a complete and autonomous university, one which would compete with, but not harm through rivalry, the provincial university. For such as these the question of university unity was not an issue; neither was there any doubt about the province's need of two institutions of higher learning. There were others however, who, while supporting the idea of having university facilities in Calgary had doubts about the creation of a completely independent university. There was a feeling that there should be university unity in the province and that such could be maintained and the problems of sectional jealousy solved by transforming the University of Alberta into a degree granting institution, pure and simple. This would have involved the turning of the Strathcona institution into a college and the creation in Calgary of a similar type of college, with the degree conferring power being vested in the university. There need not have been rivalry between the colleges but rather each could develop its own specialties. Such

³²L.H., Wednesday, July 27, 1910, p. 2.

a 'college' system had the advantage of allowing for the creation of firmly-rooted local institutions, each of which could be strong and free to work out its own destiny.³³

Perhaps there was good reason for many in Calgary to feel that the city had a university within its grasp but there was a tendency for these enthusiasts to overlook the opposition--opposition often from within Calgary itself. There were those who, ideally, would not have objected to a Calgary university but felt that financial costs alone precluded such an ideal becoming a reality--at least for a long time to come. There was general approval of the government's university policy and of the locating of the university in Strathcona. It would take years to make the University of Alberta into a first class institution and possibly this would be prevented by the establishment of a second university which could not but be a rival. Should a second university be granted a share in the university appropriation this would be ruinous to the entire provincial policy regarding higher education--Alberta would be saddled with two mediocre institutions and her students would migrate elsewhere, probably to the East. Therefore it was foolishness to attempt to create a university in Calgary solely to satisfy civic pride. Undoubtedly the over-riding consideration was money and those who dreamed of a self-supporting university had no realistic idea of the

³³Anyone who knew Tory and his views must have realized that never would he countenance such a scheme. He was a firm believer in the concept of university unity and centralization and it was upon these principles that he and Rutherford laid the foundation for the provincial university.

costs involved.

Those who are relying upon a Calgary university to be self-supporting must bear in mind that statistics the continent over show the revenue accruing from students' fees and all other internal sources only average twenty-five per cent of the actual running expenses. . . .³⁴

Therefore, given the cost and the time needed to establish a university the issue was clear--Alberta would have one real university or none at all.

It was a moot point whether, in fact, as some claimed, Alberta could support two universities. There is no doubt that the province had entered an era of expansion and was enjoying a considerable growth in population. However, the province still was overwhelmingly agricultural and possessed only two urban centres of any size--Calgary and Edmonton. Even by 1916 the combined population of these two cities was only about 20 per cent of the provincial total. The majority of the immigrants coming to Alberta, indeed into Canada, either were farmers, unskilled general labourers, or artisans. Relative to other groups the foreign born tended to have a substantially higher illiteracy rate. (See Table I.) This was true at least for those living in Calgary and Edmonton. It is highly unlikely therefore that such people would demonstrate any great enthusiasm for one university, let alone two. Such university interest as there was came principally from the American, British,

³⁴C.H., Friday, July 29, 1910, p. 6. This is from a letter to the editor signed simply 'Albertan.' It is possible that the author was R. J. Hutchings who had been a consistent opponent of the university scheme unless provincial assistance was assured.

and Canadian born element. It was the latter two which were important in the Calgary university movement as evidenced by the fact that those most actively involved came either from Eastern Canada or Britain.

TABLE I
LITERACY - 10 YEARS AND OLDER - 1916

City	Population	Total Population 10 Years and Older			Per cent unable to read & write
Calgary	56,514			42,235	1.9
		(Cdn. Born	27,124	- 15,938	.2
		(Br. Born	20,346	- 18,859	.1
		(For. Born	9,044	- 7,438	9.1
Edmonton	53,846			40,693	1.7
		(Cdn. Born	27,736	- 16,709	.2
		(Br. Born	15,404	- 14,205	.1
		(For. Born	10,706	- 9,779	6.4

Source: Census of the Prairie Provinces 1916, p. 253.

Both Edmonton and Calgary grew rapidly prior to 1914. The number and value of the building permits issued gave an indication

TABLE II
BUILDING PERMITS

Calgary			Edmonton		
Year	No. of Permits	Amount	Year	No. of Permits	Amount
1910	1,499	\$ 5,589,954	1910	1,053	\$ 2,159,106
1912	3,843	20,394,220	1912	3,664	14,437,319
1913	2,078	8,619,653	1913	3,216	9,242,850
1914	1,255	3,425,350	1914	1,678	4,913,229
1915	272	150,550	1915	247	288,375

of this. Nonetheless it cannot be assumed that people living in such areas which until recently had been part of the frontier were necessarily going to be interested in the spending of vast sums upon post-secondary education. This was still an age when initiative could make money and money, as much as anything else, symbolized success. Perhaps this helps to explain why it was found to be difficult to raise money in Calgary for the university scheme. It was not that money was lacking for Calgary had quite a large number of very wealthy people, but they did not all, unlike Blow, see an economic connection between financial success and higher education.

It is unlikely therefore that Alberta could have supported two universities at this time, not only because the population still was relatively small and agricultural but also because of the prevailing frontier social attitudes. This was a time when many people were concentrating upon acquiring the basic necessities of life and had very little time, or money, or interest in other things. For those who could afford to be interested in higher education, in Calgary at least, the emphasis was upon the 'business' aspect which again probably was a reflection of the prevailing social values.

By the summer of 1910 it was difficult for the opposition to get a fair hearing. To think that the province could not support two universities and to underestimate the moral and financial support Calgary was prepared to give was to be lacking in civic loyalty. There is no doubt however that the idea of a completely financially independent institution was receding into the background and it was being proclaimed that Calgary "can reasonably expect to receive a

certain amount of government assistance."³⁵ This did not mean that assistance for Calgary need come out of the University of Alberta appropriation. Success was contingent upon the demonstration of popular support, viz. the passing of the by-law. It was difficult for the supporters to understand any opposition from within the city itself, especially Council opposition "when it is realized that the university as a commercial proposition to the city would be a very satisfactory investment. . . ."³⁶ It was even claimed that the provincial university question regarding the Strathcona site was not definitely settled; however, should the Calgary voters defeat the by-law the issue would be settled once and for all! An additional incentive to get the university underway was the prospect of attracting church affiliated colleges.³⁷

Such was the enthusiasm and the optimism that in September it was announced that university classes would get underway that autumn. An announcement was made that "pending the organization of the proposed Calgary university, classes in university work will be started

³⁵Ibid. From an editorial.

³⁶C.A., Wednesday, August 3, 1910, p. 3. While City Council generally supported the university by-law still it was not passed without discussion. It is impossible to measure the opposition to Blow's scheme existing within Calgary but the major papers tend to give the impression that, whatever its size, it was well organized. With regard to seeing the university as a commercial venture it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was the investment and money-making concept and not the educational concept that gave the entire scheme appeal to many. Were it possible to have a 'business university' completely divorced from academic pursuits perhaps this would have been the ideal. It is strange that the Calgary promoters did not look South to Harvard and recommend the establishment of a school of business.

³⁷The Rev. G. W. Kerby was a staunch supporter of the university

this fall in conjunction with Western Canada College."³⁸ It was estimated that at least twenty-five students would register, this figure being derived from the fact that that number of Calgary students had been going elsewhere for their education. Also it was expected that many others both from the city and from the southern part of the province would be willing to undertake first year university work in Calgary. All of the curricular details had not been settled but intending students were assured of "recognition of the work done by any other university in the dominion,"³⁹ and were advised to contact Dr. Blow as soon as possible. Blow claimed that the demand for university facilities was greater than had been expected and that there was no doubt but that, once underway, the new institution would prove absolutely vital to the educational needs of Calgary and southern Alberta. Certainly most of this early optimism will be seen to have been misplaced but for the moment it provided the impetus to attempt to get things underway and to prove that a second university in Alberta was a necessity.

scheme for a university was necessary to educate teachers and to maintain high social, educational, and citizenship ideals. C.A., Tuesday, August 9, 1910, p. 1.

On August 19 at the Methodist Conference in Victoria the decision was announced to establish a preparatory college at Calgary, Lethbridge having made a strong bid for the school. C.H., Saturday, August 20, 1910, p. 1. In making the announcement the Methodist Church formally endorsed the Calgary university project.

³⁸C.A., Friday, September 9, 1910, p. 1.

³⁹C.H., Thursday, September 8, 1910, p. 1. The promoters did not overlook the fact that, as Toronto estimated, each university student was worth about \$1,000 per year to the city.

The test of utility is hardly a fair one this year as a number of students who would have remained at home had the announcement been made earlier have already left to pursue their studies elsewhere. It is significant of the need for a Calgary university that there should be any demand whatever for facilities at this late date.⁴⁰

The university therefore presumably was going to begin operations on October 15 without permanent buildings (not unusual--the University of Alberta did the same thing), without a charter of incorporation (this could not be granted until the Legislature reconvened), without a full teaching staff, without a settled curriculum, without any accurate assessment as to the number of students to be expected, and without adequate funds. This was the university for which Calgary students would remain at home and the work of which would be nationally recognized! The plan was to begin by offering first year arts, utilizing the staff and physical plant of Western Canada College as well as hiring additional teachers. This arrangement was decided upon "at a joint meeting of the board of the Western Canada College and the university aid society."⁴¹ It was announced also that a start would be made the following spring on the first university building, to be completed by the autumn at a cost of \$300,000, on a site in the northeast corner of the city.⁴²

⁴⁰C.H., Friday, September 9, 1910, p. 6.

⁴¹C.H., Friday, September 23, 1910, p. 1.

⁴²Ibid. What happened to the land given by Tregillus and others to the west of the city centre? In all likelihood the talk of a northeast site was simply an attempt to prevent a further increase in real estate speculation which already was underway in

As for students, it was stated that many from different parts of the province had indicated a desire to attend.

The university however did not open its doors in the autumn of 1910 owing to the multitude of problems requiring solutions: one can but wonder at businessmen and professional people who, even for a moment, thought seriously that operations could have begun. The financial problem loomed large. While it is true that, if the reports were accurate, the gifts of land and money, gifts either actually given or promised, had been generous, still much greater resources were needed. By November the university promoters had launched a campaign to solicit public financial support--their aim being to raise a minimum of \$150,000. They were much encouraged by a reported \$50,000 which was subscribed to very early in the campaign but it is probable that, generally, they found the response not as enthusiastic as they had hoped although better probably than some expected.

Once again there was talk as to the kind of university which would be most desirable and discussion continued upon whether it should be the arts/science type or one oriented more along polytechnical lines. Certainly some were beginning to recognize the value and necessity of providing adequate technical training and it was feared that, since such a small percentage of the student

the vicinity of the original site.

A. Mahaffy, in a letter to the editor dealing with the university question states that since some have "important commercial motives" then it might be well "to say nothing at present of the location . . . " C.A., Saturday, November 19, 1910, p. 17.

population went to university, the Calgary university promoters might accomplish little, other than duplicate the services provided already at Strathcona. Considering the fact that the city was being asked to give \$150,000, J. C. Miller of the Calgary Normal School earlier had asked: " . . . Are we justified in thus voting public money to duplicate the provision already made for the two per cent . . . Should not the city and the province establish a good Polytechnic Institute in Calgary. . . ." ⁴³ Dr. A. M. Scott, Superintendent of Public Schools in Calgary, agreed and said, when asked by J. Wolfe of the Trades and Labor Council whether the proposed University of Calgary would benefit the city: "Certainly, if it is the head and center of technical education, but scarcely if it is only intended to turn out a few more doctors, and teachers, and lawyers." ⁴⁴ In Scott's view the difficulty with establishing a technical institute was a shortage of experienced teachers, but he did not see this as an insuperable problem.

By mid-November the Calgary university issue was quite confusing. There were many influential people in the city willing to

⁴³Cited in C.A., Saturday, October 22, 1910, p. 11.

⁴⁴Cited in C.A., Thursday, November 17, 1910, p. 1. Scott had attended a meeting at the Labor Hall on November 16 to arrange evidence to be put before the Commission on Technical Education at its sitting in Calgary, November 19. It was expected that Scott, MacRae and Miller would be chosen to speak for education. For the Calgary testimony, see Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Part IV, 1913, pp. 2299 ff.

The idea of a technical university held great appeal and among its advantages was the hope that it would allow for the abolition of an inefficient apprenticeship system, raise the status of the various trades, and, since such training would be costly and fees, of necessity, would have to be held down, it was reasonable to expect generous government support.

support the project but there appeared to be no definite consensus as to the form the institution should take: indeed, in some minds it was not definitely decided whether it should be completely separate from the University of Alberta. There were almost as many opinions as there were interested citizens but there was a feeling that Calgary should have 'something' and that perhaps Scott's concept of a university was the most feasible and the most up-to-date. Interest in the entire affair also was generated by the fact that a Calgary university bill shortly was to be put before the Legislature.

Whatever may happen when the application for a charter for the university is placed before the legislature, it is certain that sooner or later, if the province is to keep abreast of the times, either a university must be established in Calgary, or a large and active branch of the provincial university will be placed here.⁴⁵

For a time attention was focused upon the Legislature and the introduction by R. B. Bennett of the Calgary university bill.⁴⁶ As predicted when the bill came up for debate it received a warm reception.⁴⁷ In speaking on behalf of the bill Bennett stressed the

⁴⁵C.A., Saturday, November 18, 1910, p. 3. Tory certainly anticipated difficulties regarding the Calgary application: "Things are now moving fairly smoothly with us, but a session of the Legislature is now on, and I anticipate that University matters will be a thorny subject of discussion before the session is over." F.P., Letter from Tory to Falconer, November 16, 1910.

⁴⁶A notice that such an application would be made to the Legislature appeared in the Alberta Gazette, Saturday, April 30, 1910, p. 242. Some of the leading officials of Calgary, including Mayor Jamieson, went to attend the legislative session.

⁴⁷The second reading was scheduled originally for November 25 but at Bennett's request, since he desired additional information, it was left over until Monday, November 28.

necessity of Alberta's having a second university and argued that it would serve to strengthen provincial unity by putting an end to sectional jealousies. The promoters already had a site, plus an additional 750 acres promised, and the City of Calgary was prepared to give \$150,000--surely therefore the Legislature would not refuse the requested corporate rights and thus allow for the taking of full advantage of Calgary's spontaneous generosity. Bennett however did propose that the original bill be amended by the adding of a clause whereby nothing would be undertaken until \$500,000 in cash or its equivalent had been provided as an endowment fund outside of the land and buildings.⁴⁸ To counter any argument about a Calgary university in any way crippling the University of Alberta, he emphasized that the principal feature of the new institution would be its technical orientation.⁴⁹

⁴⁸C.A., Tuesday, November 29, 1910, pp. 1-2. The proposed act of incorporation was similar to that of the University of Alberta. It was doubtful if the bill would have passed in its original form, hence the Bennett amendment, which was not unexpected. It had been reported earlier that the bill might be passed if, before operations began, \$500,000 were subscribed within a two year period, otherwise the charter would lapse. See E.B., Tuesday, November 22, 1910, p. 1.

⁴⁹The concept of a technical university was supported by F. W. Bengough, Secretary to the Technical Education Commission, who said in an interview that there was plenty of room in Alberta for two universities if the courses of each dovetailed but did not clash. He felt that Calgary, which he saw as an industrial centre, was the logical site for a technical college which could work hand in hand with the University of Alberta. See C.A., Wednesday, November 23, 1910, p. 1.

On November 23 both Blow and MacRae addressed the Calgary Medical Association regarding the university charter. Blow stressed the commercial advantages to be had from a university while MacRae

Bennett's oratory was not enough and the second reading proved as stormy as had been predicted. W. A. Buchanan of Lethbridge said that the Calgary bill, which was inspired by little more than a desire for publicity, would divide the south. Provincial unity would be served by university unity and there was no doubt in his mind that a second university would in fact cripple the Strathcona institution. He feared also that, while at the outset no request for provincial funds might be made, such was bound to come sooner or later, thus resulting in a division of the university grant. Also, if Calgary were allowed to establish its own university there would be nothing to prevent Lethbridge or any other centre from expecting the same privilege. These arguments were supported by M. McKenzie of Claresholm who doubted whether the time really was right for the province to be supporting one university--let alone two. McKenzie expressed doubts as to whether Calgary would be able to muster majority support in the south for its stand.⁵⁰ By the end of the

supported Bengough and stressed that he saw no grounds for any valid objection to the Calgary scheme as long as Calgarians were prepared to finance it. It was the realization however that such was unlikely to be the case that provided one of the foci of opposition. An account of this meeting was carried in C.A., Thursday, November 24, 1910, p. 1, under the heading "Doctors Favor the University," but it is interesting to note that nowhere in the article are any doctors' opinions expressed!

The C.A., November 25, 1910, p. 3, as a last resort argument returned to the old idea of having both universities under provincial control as branches of the one university with the Calgary institution perhaps taking the title Calgary University College.

⁵⁰ McKenzie and Buchanan were the chief spokesmen for the opposition. See the account in C.H., Tuesday, November 29, 1910, pp. 1, 6, and on the same date in C.A., p. 2. Buchanan at least probably

debate on November 28, the indications were that the bill would be defeated, as much as anything because "many members are of the opinion that a second university in the province at the present time would cripple the present institution at Strathcona."⁵¹

In Calgary there was a feeling that the opposition to the bill was based upon ignorance as much as upon anything else. "If Mr. Buchanan and Mr. MacKenzie [sic] would take the trouble to find out just what Calgary wants and needs in the university, they might learn just how narrow they really are in opposing it."⁵² Ignorance there was undoubtedly, but just as much was evidenced by the Calgary supporters, many of whom, while content to re-hash the time worn arguments in favour of a second university, did not have a finger on the pulse of the province. One wonders, for example, how an editorial possibly could have asserted that Buchanan, in opposing the charter for the Calgary university, did not represent public opinion.⁵³ Probably a more accurate picture of the prevailing attitudes outside Calgary, at least in the southern part of the province, was the following:

The people of Calgary hoped to stampede the people of the south in their efforts to secure a university, and if not

would have agreed with an earlier account attributing the entire Calgary project to the work of a group of Calgary capitalists. See: E.J., Wednesday, May 4, 1910, p. 1.

⁵¹E.B., Tuesday, November 29, 1910, p. 8. Earlier, this argument had been set forth very lucidly in a letter published in L.H., Tuesday, November 1, 1910, p. 1.

⁵²C.A., Wednesday, November 30, 1910, p. 3.

⁵³C.H., Wednesday, November 30, 1910, p. 6.

making a political issue of it, at least to make a sectional issue. They attempted the same thing over the location of the provincial university and failed. It is hoped now that they have failed again they will give up all such efforts.⁵⁴

Not all was lost however and it was hoped that a considerable amount of value could be salvaged. By December 7, the Calgary University Bill was ready to go before the committee of the whole but with two important changes having been made by Bennett--the name had been changed to Calgary College and the section dealing with degree-conferring powers was deleted. Without these changes there was no hope whatever of the bill's passing and, with it now having been shorn of its powers, it was claimed, unjustly, that when it came before the House "it will be little better than a college for secondary education."⁵⁵ One proposal however which did receive general

⁵⁴L.H., Thursday, December 1, 1910, p. 4.

⁵⁵E.B., Wednesday, December 7, 1910, p. 1. Perhaps it was in realization that this might just be the case that the Albertan declared: "If it is not to be the Calgary University, it must be the Calgary University College. Nothing else would be either appropriate or quite descriptive." C.A., Thursday, December 8, 1910, p. 3.

At the same time that the Legislature was dealing with the Calgary bill it amended the University of Alberta Act by creating a Board of Governors to share power with the Senate and it passed the Methodist College Bill. The Calgary university promoters had counted upon the opening in 1910 or early in 1911 of a Methodist college, to be affiliated with the proposed university. The opening was delayed. The Rev. G. W. Kerby was appointed principal of the college which was to be built on a temporary site facing Mewata Park (i.e., the present Mount Royal College). Until this building was ready they had been offered temporary quarters by Blow, in the hope that they could open no later than January, 1911. It soon became apparent that with teachers not available there could be no opening before September, 1911. Also, there were difficulties with the name. The Methodists had chosen the name Calgary College and as such it had been widely advertised. However, with the passing of the Calgary College Bill Kerby agreed, reluctantly, to a change of name and that of Mount Royal College was chosen.

endorsement was that to have the institution follow technical lines.

The Calgary College Bill, embodying the aforementioned changes, was passed December 8. The passage however was not unopposed, with the opposition being led by McKenzie.⁵⁶ Until such time as the final vote was taken there was a strong possibility that the bill would be defeated because:

A large number of members see in the bill an attempt to secure the money and property promised and then lay low for a year or two when another attempt will be made to convert it into a full-fledged university. This would bring about the object which is now feared, a rival to the provincial institution resulting in the crippling of it for all time to come.⁵⁷

An attempt was made by Michener, Conservative M.P.P. for Red Deer, to have the name Calgary University College adopted but that was opposed, especially by Sifton who regarded it as a misnomer.

In Calgary it was thought prudent to make the most of the situation. The bill, though badly truncated, gave enough with which to start. A good foundation could be laid and then the college could evolve either into a standard type of university or, into what was becoming increasingly attractive, a university of science, technology and engineering. However, before even a college could be launched more financial support was needed, apart from the donations to date

⁵⁶The Minister of Education, the Hon. C. R. Mitchell, was in favour of the bill, but he, along with such as Rutherford, and even Buchanan, who was opposed even to a college, remained generally passive during the final stages. The bill passed 11 to 9. Both Blow and Kerby were in attendance. See Statutes of Alberta, An Act to Incorporate the Calgary College, 1910.

⁵⁷E.B., Friday, December 9, 1910, p. 1. This proved to be an accurate assessment.

and the promise of civic assistance. Blow estimated that, in order to begin, some \$75,000 more would have to be raised, and, considering that many of the wealthy in Calgary so far had done nothing, he hoped to attract their interest by encouraging them to endow chairs and help with equipment. The future of the college certainly was in the hands of the Calgary citizens.⁵⁸

There was no doubt that the establishment of Calgary College would not be as easy as some had thought. Thus far at least the university promoters seemed not to have had a very accurate reading of provincial attitudes. In Calgary the feeling was that the opposition in the Legislature was spearheaded by Edmonton and Strathcona whereas in fact the opposition to the Calgary scheme came from all sections of the province. The fact that the issue at stake was not merely a local one never seems to have been grasped by Blow and his cohorts. There were many in the province who sympathized with Calgary's university aspirations and found them not unreasonable, but with the provincial university already underway, Calgary opposition was viewed as harmful and wasteful. There was also an inadequate appreciation on the part of many in Calgary as to the costs involved in establishing and operating a university: hence, many were unable to recognize that a second university at that time very likely would have crippled the University of Alberta.

Unity in education long had been a Tory principle.

⁵⁸It is difficult to form an accurate picture of the actual assets since so many of the contributions simply were promises of assistance and never materialized.

The university not only stands for unity in education but it stands for unification of national life. That it is accomplishing this is shown by the fact that nearly three quarters of the students were born outside the Province and had their early education before coming to Alberta.⁵⁹

He remained the staunchest foe of the Calgary university movement and predicted that nothing good could come out of such educational rivalry.

a) . . . Nothing could be more unwise than to hand over to a private Board the power to in any way conflict with these standards. If another degree-conferring institution is established before the tradition of work in the Province is fixed it will mean unwholesome rivalry for students and of necessity a lowering of the education standard of the Province.

b) Further the granting of a degree-conferring power to one organization opens up the whole question of granting it to many organizations. If the Calgary Colleges [sic] is granted degree-conferring power there is no reason why any organized college may not ask for the same privilege with equal reason. The result will be absolute confusion in educational matters in the Province . . . Educationally what this province needs most of all is unity in its standard of work until such time as its Public Schools and High Schools . . . have got a firm tradition of high standard set.⁶⁰

Tory's efforts were seconded by Falconer who wrote:

I am very sorry to hear of your troubles, and I hope that you will be able to retain your educational work undivided in the Province of Alberta. Of course you may rely upon us. We shall do nothing to prevent the development of the Provincial University. . . . There has never been in our mind the slightest doubt as to what our action would be. Wherever there is a Provincial University that must be recognized by this Provincial University.⁶¹

⁵⁹T.P. An undated document.

⁶⁰Ibid. Tory always claimed that rivalry bred inefficiency-- a good example was the Maritimes which were in an educational mess.

⁶¹F.P. Letter from Falconer to Tory, December 23, 1910. Sir Robert Falconer (1867-1943)--graduate of London and Edinburgh; president of the University of Toronto 1907-1932.

The Calgary university promoters obviously were going to have to face solidly based opposition in the future.

CHAPTER III

THE CAMPAIGN TO SECURE DEGREE-GRANTING POWERS FOR CALGARY COLLEGE

The New Year brought new hope. The Calgary university supporters were undaunted after their failure to gain university status. In their eyes the institution would be a university de facto, the Legislature notwithstanding, on the basis of the work it would do. This was certainly the feeling of Kerby who, in the absence from the city of Blow, presided at an important university meeting of interested citizens on January 5, 1911. One editorial stated what most who were in any way interested in the university probably felt:

The questions have now been decided. The Calgary college, as it must be called, has a charter which very much resembles a university charter, with the exception that there is no degree-conferring power. With this Calgary must be content for the time being, but it may be assumed that by the time Calgary's institution is ready to confer degrees it will have shown such strength as to make it impossible that the power of conferring them should continue to be refused.¹

Clearly the time had come for action and it was felt imperative that Calgary College be launched as quickly as possible. At this time, however, there was some confusion in laying the organizational

¹C.H., Friday, January 6, 1911, p. 6. Strangely enough references still were being made to the possibility of moving the provincial university to Calgary. How naive to think that, because not too much money had been spent at Strathcona, "Calgary would stand to recoup the province for any loss that might be incurred on account of changing the location of the university."

groundwork since no one as yet had received a copy of the amended Act. So, there were formed at the meeting of January 5 three committees--one to look after the canvassing for funds (A. M. Scott, F. Shackle, G. W. Kerby), one to look after the city by-law which was to be submitted shortly (W. Georgeson, J. Short, H. Riley), and a third to report upon the charter as it then stood and to draft recommendations for organizing the college (Rev. Mahaffy, H. Riley, C. B. Reilly). Also there was to be a group of trustees to look after the transfer of property to the new institution.² For the time being at least the Act was deemed sufficient and was regarded as being adequate upon which to build an excellent foundation.

The first thing to be done was to organize a convocation, a task placed under the supervision of H. Riley as Acting Registrar. All graduates in Calgary and vicinity were urged to enroll. The charter had made eligible for membership in convocation all graduates of universities of British dominions and Canadian universities resident in Alberta.³ This was following the University of Alberta practice. Two additional committees were established--one consisting of W. M. Davidson, A. M. Scott, C. B. Reilly, and Rev. Mahaffy to look after enrollment and the other, of W. Georgeson, J. H. Woods,

²C.A., Friday, January 6, 1911, p. 1.

³Riley had served as the first Registrar, University of Alberta. He was appointed Acting Registrar of Calgary College at a meeting of interested citizens held January 12. It would be the function of convocation to appoint a Senate, which in turn would appoint a Board of Governors. Thirty days' notice would be given for enrolling and then steps would be taken to organize the Senate.

and H. W. Riley, to prepare plans for the endowment and other schemes of financial assistance. It was planned to solicit gifts and bequests. The College it seemed was off to a good start: no one doubted that it would be beneficial for the city. The Calgary Herald predicted that it "should at once become the leading institution of higher learning between Winnipeg and the coast."⁴ In its estimate the Albertan was more cautious. "The university is well underway but, unfortunately, the work is being left entirely in the hands of a few people. The university, to be successful, must have the assistance of all Calgary people."⁵ With the organization taking place it became possible to transfer the Tregillus property to the College. It was expected that adjacent land also would be transferred in the near future.⁶ The Tregillus land was to be the nucleus of the university site. Soon it would be time to give some thought to the erection of permanent buildings.

However, the first consideration at the moment was that of calling convocation. The registration fee was two dollars per head and it was hoped that all eligible graduates in Calgary and southern

⁴C.H., Friday, January 13, 1911, p. 6.

⁵C.A., Friday, January 13, 1911, p. 6. This is an interesting comment in view of the fact that the impression given usually is one of overwhelming civic support.

When referring to the Calgary College the terms 'college' and 'university' are used interchangeably as they were then.

⁶The formal transfer was made January 16, 1911, and filed in the Calgary Land Titles Office. The land involved was about 160 acres being the northeast quarter of section 14, township 24, range 2, west of the 5th meridian.

Alberta would respond. In Calgary it was estimated that some 300-400 men and women were eligible. Following a meeting of those interested on the night of January 31 it was reported that the "university graduates residing in Calgary are very enthusiastic over a Calgary University. This is a new and very active force in the campaign for a university here."⁷ By mid-February it was estimated that some 137 had enrolled and progress was deemed sufficiently satisfactory that Riley was instructed to call for nominations to the Senate. These were to close March 1, following which ballots would be distributed, to be returned by March 16.⁸ The fullest possible participation of graduates was deemed vital to the success of the scheme for it was felt that only they could arouse and direct the necessary enthusiasm of the citizens and provide the requisite moral support. "Outsiders

⁷C.A., Saturday, February 4, 1911, p. 3. Undoubtedly there was some enthusiasm for the College but its extent is difficult to estimate. Dr. A. M. Scott for example who was a convert to the idea that a Calgary college was feasible, having feared at first that it would interfere with the provincial university, commented upon the apparent lack of interest being shown in the project in certain quarters. He urged both citizens and graduates to pursue the matter with greater vigour. See C.H., Friday, February 3, 1911, p. 3.

⁸The proposed organization of the College was as follows:

a) Convocation--all British Dominion and Canadian university graduates resident in Alberta for three months were eligible to enrol.

b) Senate--ten members were to be elected by convocation. It was to be responsible for academic matters such as curriculum, examinations and staff appointments. Three members from convocation could nominate a candidate for the Senate. A Calgary College circular dealing with nominations to the Senate and outlining the procedure to be followed is to be found in the collection of Dorothy Curie, G.F.A.

c) Board of Governors--seven to be chosen by the Senate and the Board was to be responsible for material and financial affairs. Unlike a university there was to be no chancellor.

have been questioning our faith and our motives, and are waiting for us to show the desired initiative; but the moment they see that we are sincerely energetic they will join us."⁹

All things considered it seemed to many as though Calgary College actually was going to "get off the ground." There was little worry about its not going to be called a university--in the eyes of its supporters it would be so de facto if not yet de jure. It would have no chancellor but this was no loss; it could not grant degrees but it could grant diplomas and certificates which need be in no way inferior to a degree--after all, in the long run, what mattered was the degree of intellectual achievement attained. This attitude is understandable but no thought seems to have been given to the reaction which might be expected from the academic community outside Calgary. No thought was given that they might not share the local optimism. If the proper foundation were laid and sufficient citizen support were in evidence, the time would come when university status would have to be accorded. In commenting upon the government's attitude in granting the Charter one writer said, and with him many would have agreed, that "they should either have done more or nothing at all . . . What was done narrowly escaped defeat, and will not be hard to void when the proper time comes."¹⁰ Adequate

⁹C.H., Wednesday, February 1, 1911, p. 1.

¹⁰C.A., Thursday, January 26, 1911, p. 3. This is a letter to the editor entitled "The Status of Calgary College," by Pro Bono Publico. It is very likely that the author was Blow.

financial support was vital and every assurance was given by Acting Registrar Riley that, in this regard, a healthy condition existed. It was claimed that the university would start with approximately \$250,000 in its capital fund to which would be added the city grant of \$150,000 and the value of the land pledged--estimated at 750 acres, valued at \$250,000.¹¹ There is no reason to think that, for the most part, these figures were not the figment of a fertile imagination. It is open to question if, during the entire history of the College, that much actual money ever was amassed.

Although seemingly great plans were being laid by the Calgary promoters, still to be settled was the question as to the kind of institution desired. Also some account had to be taken of the fact that outside Calgary the acceptance of the College was by no means general. There was a distrust of the scheme by many; a feeling that it reflected nothing more than avarice on the part of the city. It was a compensation for the fact that in its greed to have both the university and the capital, it got neither one. Then too there was the underlying fear that, whether or not it was the intent, a Calgary university would harm the University of Alberta. Calgary enjoyed little sympathy throughout the province and it was simply short-sightedness which caused her to think that she spoke for southern Alberta. In the eyes of many Blow and his supporters

¹¹C.H., Friday, February 3, 1911, p. 3. MacRae estimated that in Europe and Canada annual university maintenance costs started at \$18,000. For the University of Alberta the figure was estimated at \$30,000. See Appendix III and the government grants given to the University of Alberta.

were interested in a university for little other than real estate speculation and there was considerable truth to the charge that in Calgary itself a sizable number of university graduates were opposed to a second university in the province. Underlying much of the opposition was the old fear, and in this instance justified, that no such university as Calgary envisioned could be self-supporting. With regard to the financial state of Blow's project and its future prospects it was said, with considerable truth, that:

Calgary has a large amount of unpaid subscriptions on the canvassers' books, real estate magnates are keen to enhance values, but there isn't provision made for even two years after the university doors swing open. . . .

. . . Calgary university would need provincial aid, and it is doubtful if the money of this young province should be spent in the luxury of an unnecessary university, while the needs of the common schools are demanding more every year.¹²

As to the kind of university desired, some concrete ideas had to emerge before any thought could be given to a building programme. Above all else it was necessary to avoid being charged with merely duplicating the services of the University of Alberta. For some time there had been talk in Calgary to the effect that, should an institution of higher learning be built in the city, it should concentrate upon science and technology. Technical education was the necessity of the future and in this field Calgary could provide

¹²L.H., Thursday, February 8, 1911, p. 4. It was argued that McGill and Toronto each had large endowments, yet both needed additional financial support. A Calgary university therefore might start as a self-supporting institution but it would not take long before it would be running to the Legislature for help. The truth of the L.H.'s stand regarding the unpaid subscriptions became painfully obvious later on when the entire scheme collapsed.

a unique service since the University of Alberta was not equipped to function in this area. Here too was an opportunity for such an institution to reach the average industrial worker, avoid overlapping with Strathcona, and create a first class technical school of wide repute. The alternative surely would be but a second class university geared to purely local needs. It was felt too that, if possible, any such Calgary school should maintain an affiliation with the provincial university but this would necessitate a collegiate structure of higher education in the province. It would necessitate also overcoming the attitude of Tory. Supporting the concept of a technical institution Davidson, at a banquet of university graduates held February 10, said:

If we have an ideal institution which will in no way overlap with the Alberta university I would favor affiliation or even go further. I would suggest some peaceable arrangement with the Alberta university. The Strathcona university would do its work in one part, we in another. It would be a union of forces that would result in strenght.¹³

Many agreed with these sentiments. One thing that was clear was that however people thought of the Calgary institution and the role it should play it was the firm conviction that ultimately it would expand into a full-fledged university, though perhaps technically oriented. This feeling was summed up by Bishop Pinkham who said, speaking at the aforementioned banquet: "I want to test what the legislature has given us to the utmost. . . . See what we can do

¹³Cited in C.A., Saturday, February 11, 1911, p. 1.

with that and then branch out into a university."¹⁴

However much it was argued that the Calgary attitude was a most reasonable one it should have been obvious that there was very little likelihood of securing the necessary cooperation of the University of Alberta, or, for that matter, of the government. The arguments had been put before; they were opposed then and were so now. Any talk of affiliation or of a collegiate system was simply to challenge Tory whose views on unity in higher education were not unknown. Any talk of eventual expansion into a university was to revive the old fears that to charter Calgary College was simply to provide the means by which its promoters would attempt to achieve university status by slipping in the back door and presenting the government with a fait accompli. What was worse was the suspicion that the Calgary venture was going to involve government assistance, in spite of claims to the contrary, and that was something for which the rest of the province would not stand. As usual, Buchanan spoke for the opposition.

. . . So they are talking up a university that will have no arts course . . . But their university is to have a conglomeration of special colleges of all sorts. These will turn out specialists in every line of occupation from day laborers to statesmen, doctors, lawyers, political economists. . . .¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid. Pinkham was a strong supporter of the Calgary university having affiliated with it numerous religious colleges.

¹⁵L.H., Saturday, February 15, 1911, p. 4. The reference to the arts course stemmed from the fact that some in Calgary envisioned that their institution would have schools of industry, mining, engineering, agriculture and the like, while Strathcona would be left to deal with the arts. For example, J. C. Miller of the Calgary

To many outside Calgary it appeared that the various schemes proposed were little more than manoeuvres designed to convince the public that there existed adequate justification for the establishment of a university at Calgary. Perhaps Tory received some small comfort from Murray who wrote that: "The legislation here has passed the Act , incorporating the college at Regina. The bill was almost identical to that of Calgary College . . . "16

Calgary College came one step closer to reality with the establishment of a system of college government. First there was the election of the Senate. There were nineteen nominations from which, on March 16, ten were elected. However it was envisioned that, by adding the College president, the presidents of the proposed affiliated colleges and the faculty deans, the Senate membership would be about fifteen. Of those elected, the five with the greatest number of votes would hold office for four years and the remaining five for two years.¹⁷ A meeting of the Senate to choose the Board of

Normal School stressed the importance of making adequate provision in the school system for manual and technical training for this would lay "an excellent foundation upon which the Calgary University can build its College of Science, Technology and Art." C.A., Saturday, March 18, 1911, p. 13.

¹⁶T.P., Letter to Tory, February 24, 1911.

¹⁷Those elected to the Senate were: Bishop Pinkham, D.C.L.; C. B. Reilly, LL.B.; Judge Noel of Edmonton, B.C.L.; Rt. Rev. E. C. Paget, M.A., B.D.; Rev. J. A. Clark, B.A.; A. M. Scott, B.A., Ph.D.; W. M. Davidson, B.A.; Rev. C. E. Heustis of Red Deer, B.A.; G. D. Stanley of High River, B.M.; G. A. Anderson, M.D., C.M. The Senate was to regulate academic matters and it was empowered to establish chairs in any faculty except Theology. The establishment of such as a faculty was subject to the approval of the Board of Governors.

Governors was held Monday, March 20 and, following the naming of A. M. Scott as its permanent chairman, the Board was elected.¹⁸ The immediate task facing the Board of Governors was to choose a permanent Registrar, H. W. Riley having relinquished the position of Acting Registrar, and to appoint a president--hopefully it would be a local appointment. It is true that an outside appointment would have been equally as good if not better but a local appointment probably would stimulate greater civic interest. Once the administrative machinery was in being it was predicted that the College would open in October, 1911, and would be the most promising educational institution in Alberta, one "with the largest attendance of students."¹⁹ Given the emergent organization it is not surprising that the term 'university' was used in lieu of 'college,' and many were coming to agree that, despite the limitations contained in the College Act, it still contained "within its clauses all the machinery needed for a

¹⁸Appointed to the Board of Governors were: J. S. Dennis; W. Georgeson; R. B. Bennett, K.C.; W. J. Tregillus; H. W. Riley; J. Short, K.C.; and T. H. Blow, M.D., who was named chairman and became thereby an ex-officio member of the Senate.

Board members were to hold office for six years. The Board was to be incorporated under "The Governors of Calgary College" and was to control the property and business aspects of the College. The Board could appoint officials and professors and set the stipends but the Senate had to approve any appointment made for longer than five years and any stipend in excess of \$3,000 per year.

¹⁹C.A., Wednesday, March 15, 1911, p. 3. By way of interest, as of March 31, the enrollment at the University of Alberta totalled 128 broken down as follows: 1st year - 38; 2nd year - 38; 3rd year - 20; 4th year - 2; graduate students - 7; special students - 23. See C.A., Saturday, April 1, 1911, p. 12.

great university."²⁰ This optimism was local and in Edmonton, after dealing with university problems in California, one paper, with obvious reference to the Alberta situation, concluded that the "whole affair is extremely illuminating to those who are willing to accept the experience of others as to the avoiding of capital errors in the domain of university education."²¹

²⁰Calgary News Telegram, Thursday, March 2, 1911, 2nd section, p. 1. Hereinafter referred to as C.N.T. It was true that degree-conferring powers would have to be obtained but this was seen as no great obstacle and could be achieved in one of three ways: (1) through affiliation with the University of Alberta, but this would have to be on a basis of absolute equality, leaving each free to work out its own ideals; (2) affiliation with an Ontario university--this might rule out the interference of politics and sentiment, but perhaps any Calgary university should work out its destiny within an Alberta framework; (3) to develop locally by working as a university de facto, arranging courses to lead to a degree, and then, in two or three years, degree-conferring powers again should be requested and no sane legislature could refuse.

²¹E.J., Thursday, March 23, 1911, p. 2. The Throop Polytechnic School of Pasadena, of secondary school rank, offered to turn over its plant to the state in return for the right to confer degrees and financial support. The proposal was defeated in the Legislature, March 10, 1911, the opposition being supported by prominent citizens and some university presidents who telegraphed advice freely. For example:

a) President Butler (Columbia)--stressed that state financial support should not be divided; the American educational experience proved the wisdom in concentrating education in the hands of state universities. "Local pride and zeal should not be permitted to override plain interest of whole state."

b) President Menzies (Texas)--to establish more than one state university meant greater cost, comparative inefficiency, inevitable bickering and contention, and divided support. Such a policy prevailed in Texas and, unfortunately, it was too late to change it.

c) C. H. Howell (leading public figure)--higher education of university grade "ought to be concentrated. One adequate university is more than the state can adequately support. Two would simply precipitate a continuous starvation battle over the distribution of support never sufficient for the full needs of one."

Shades of Tory and what was certainly the prevailing attitude in the Alberta government--perhaps Sifton excepted for he appeared singularly uninterested in the university, be it the provincial one or any other.

Following the setting up of the College government there remained the pressing problem of funds. While it had been claimed that much had been promised much more still was needed. Of prime concern was the question of the proposed city by-law for \$150,000 and by May it was confidently predicted that it would be submitted to the rate-payers very shortly; however, there was an unexpected delay in the preparation of the by-law and it failed to pass second reading in City Council, May 15. The original by-law as introduced by Alderman Riley called for the city to secure a loan of \$150,000 which was to be advanced to the College without interest in return for a ten year mortgage on the property--the city however would pay 4 1/2 per cent interest on the loan to be raised by debentures. The legality of the entire scheme was uncertain because, as City Solicitor Moffatt pointed out, the College was outside the city limits. Riley urged the speedy passage of the by-law, not so much because the money per se was needed, but because it was felt that such a move by the city would stimulate subscriptions. Blow, who attended the council meeting, said that a mortgage would be given only on the original 160 acre site and felt that an early submission of the by-law was advisable (no later than the end of June) as many friends of the College likely would be leaving the city. He indicated also that it was expected that citizens would give some \$250,000--perhaps it was this which spurred Alderman Jones to suggest that a clause be added whereby no part of the city loan would be paid until subscriptions reached \$150,000. It became clear that the by-law would have to be amended but to what extent was not decided. Blow had to be

content with the assurance given by Mayor Mitchell that a special meeting of council would be held shortly to deal with the matter--
meanwhile it stood in abeyance.²²

There appears to have been no objection made by the College to the recommendation that it raise \$150,000 to match the city grant; neither was there any doubt that the sum would be raised. Indeed, if anything it was felt that sights should be raised and a goal of \$500,000 was suggested. There was in Calgary a great deal of wealth and, seen from a commercial point of view, a university would be of great benefit to the city and should be seen, therefore, as an investment. It was expected that the wealthy would give liberally and when the campaign opened it seemed as though such expectations were to be realized. It was reported on May 19 that Blow and the other canvassers got subscriptions for \$18,000. "They got no refusals."²³ A week later the enthusiasm was such that the local papers seemingly tried to outdo each other in reporting the amounts subscribed. The Herald reported that nearly the entire \$150,000 had been subscribed (the total was \$147,200), including a considerable sum to endow the first chair, and that Blow and his supporters were confident that by Monday next (i.e., May 29) they

²²For an account of this council meeting see C.A., Tuesday, May 16, 1911, p. 12.

²³C.A., Saturday, May 20, 1911, p. 1. The following were given as examples of some of the subscriptions given: E. H. Riley - \$10,000; Thos. Beveredge - \$5,000; Dr. Hicks - \$1,500; Dr. Henderson - \$1,000. It was asserted that, regarding the \$150,000, there were fourteen in Calgary who could give it all and never feel it.

would have reached a goal of \$200,000.²⁴ The Albertan's report was more moderate--it reported Blow as having said that they had passed the \$90,000 mark and expected to reach \$150,000 by May 29 at which time the first steps would be taken to have the by-law submitted.²⁵ The only conclusion that can be drawn with any accuracy is that, to the extent that one may judge on the basis of subscriptions on paper, the campaign appears to have been very successful and it brought to the fore once again arguments for the creation of a full-fledged university and not simply a college. These arguments ran the gamut from a university as being necessary for civic greatness and the fulfilment of Calgary's "manifest destiny" to there being no other city in North America of comparable size without a university. In summing up Calgary's need of a university it was stated that: "A glimpse of the report of the Alberta University will show that it is having no influence upon the southern part of the province and it is equally certain that it will have no great influence upon the

²⁴C.H., Friday, May 26, 1911, p. 1. T. J. S. Skinner gave \$35,000 to endow the chair in history. The canvassers aimed at getting five men to endow five chairs; fifteen to donate \$10,000 each; twenty-five to donate at least \$5,000 each; and one hundred to donate \$1,000 each. The C.A., Saturday, May 27, 1911, p. 3, asserted that by his donation Skinner had given sufficient money to support one professor "for all time in Calgary University" and had, thereby, built a monument to himself.

Thos. John Searle Skinner (1861-1944)--a resident of Calgary since 1887, he was associated with real estate and the wholesale business (Skinner and Miquelon). His business interests included the Western Milling Co. and the Calgary Natural Gas Co.

²⁵C.A., Friday, May 26, 1911, p. 3. The following day it reported (p. 3) that "more than \$150,000 has been subscribed."

district."²⁶

Having conducted a whirlwind fund raising campaign the university promoters turned to the city and requested that the by-law now be submitted. Blow told council that the university assets were: 750 acres of land valued at \$320,000; cash - \$42,000, and, subscribed since a week ago last Monday (i.e., May 22)--\$200,000, whereupon council voted unanimously to submit the by-law.²⁷ The civic grant however was contingent upon certain conditions being met, conditions outlined in section (1) of the by-law which authorized council to raise \$150,000 by way of a loan for the purpose of

granting a bonus to the Calgary College to be used by said College exclusively for the purpose of erecting, constructing and furnishing suitable buildings on the north-east quarter of section fourteen (14) in Township twenty-four (24), range two (2) west of the Fifth Meridian in the Province of Alberta; provided however the said College shall immediately after the passing of this by-law execute in favor of the City of Calgary a first charge by way of mortgage on the said quarter section for the said sum of \$150,000.00, which sum shall be by the terms of mortgage repayable in five years from the date hereof without interest; and provided further, that the said mortgage shall contain a provision whereby the City will undertake and agree to discharge the same if within the said period of five years the College buildings have been completed and furnished and at least one hundred students are in regular attendance and receiving a regular course of instruction at the said College. No part of the said amount of \$150,000.00 shall be paid over to

²⁶Ibid. This assertion simply was not true either as a statement of fact or in its prediction for the future.

²⁷C.A., Tuesday, May 30, 1911, p. 1. The previous Saturday (May 27), the Albertan stated (p. 3) that Calgary university would start with nearly \$1,000,000!

Shortly afterwards Blow went to Britain, presumably to look at British universities, and was away when the by-law vote was taken.

the said College until evidence shall have been produced satisfactory to the City Commissioners that bona fide subscriptions have been made by other parties for an equal sum of \$150,000.00.²⁸

The voting date was set for June 26 with the by-law to be effective July 1. It was expected that the same degree of enthusiasm would be shown in the voting as had been demonstrated in the campaign donations: anything less would show nothing but an indifference and a complete lack of confidence on the part of the citizens. The passing of the by-law was seen as another step towards the securing for Calgary of a real university--one which would far surpass that at Strathcona, the influence of which really was local.

No more petty piece of political thievery was ever perpetrated than that by which the city was robbed of the provincial university. . . . An institution located in Strathcona cannot, in the nature of things, rank as a provincial seat of learning. A University located in Calgary will be the real Provincial University, no matter by what name it may be called.²⁹

Generally it was felt that the by-law would pass. Mayor Mitchell certainly urged its passage and claimed that a large number of industries had indicated an interest to locate in Calgary and that he had been told personally that they were desirous that their employees' families have access to the best educational facilities. A university, therefore, he saw as being a great

²⁸City of Calgary Records, By-Law No. 1170. The \$150,000 was to be raised by debentures payable after thirty years (July 1, 1941) and bearing interest at 4 1/2 per cent per annum.

²⁹C.H., Monday, June 5, 1911, p. 6. In September, 1911, Strathcona and Edmonton voted to amalgamate. The high level bridge already was under construction. The merger was effected in February, 1912.

benefit.³⁰ The Albertan argued that there was no longer any valid reason for voting against the by-law, all of the old objections having been overcome; therefore it urged a large turn-out at the polls.³¹ The by-law carried 425 to 33; a comparatively small vote but said to have been about average for Calgary money by-laws.

By the summer of 1911 the Board of Governors was busy with two problems, viz. the securing of a principal and the drawing up of building plans--in that order. It appears that the Board was in correspondence with a Dr. A. W. Sawyer of Summerland, B.C., formerly principal of Acadia College, Nova Scotia. His services however were not available and it was destined to be some months before a suitable person was found. So far as the building programme was concerned the Board was thinking of having architects submit plans on a competitive basis but by early July no instructions regarding the competition had been issued, although they indicated their intention to do so in the near future. It had been known for some time that some kind of architectural competition was

³⁰C.A., Monday, June 26, 1911, p. 1. The supporters generally assumed that with the passage of the by-law it would not be a question of 'if' Calgary would get a university but 'when'--a surprisingly myopic view given the hostile attitude of Tory, the government, and the rest of the province. Of course many in Calgary long ago had mastered the art of assuming that what existed outside of its city limits was of little or no consequence.

³¹Ibid., p. 3. It was argued that the donations and the effort of these citizens showed that the scheme was anything but a mere real estate venture. The sums raised proved that a sufficient endowment could be raised, and, since there was only one Calgary student in attendance at the University of Alberta, this disproved the contention of those who claimed that no other university was needed. Strange logic!

being considered. Percy E. Nobbs of Nobbs and Hyde, Montreal, who was very interested in collegiate architecture, earlier had written to Tory: "I hear there is a proposal for a scheme of University Buildings and that a competition is contemplated. If you can give me any further information on the subject I should feel infinitely obliged."³² To this he received the curt reply.

On my return home I found your letter of June 17. I believe there is a plan on foot to start a College in Calgary. They were refused a University Charter by the Government. I do not know what their plans are at all. The person to get in touch with would be Dr. Blow of Calgary.³³

The problem of choosing a principal and arranging for buildings occupied the interested parties for a number of months, but even by October nothing had been settled (and this was the month the institution was to have opened!). There were indications however that some progress was being made. By mid-October it was being rumoured that the appointment of a principal would be announced shortly, although there was no indication as to the person(s) being considered. There were indications too that some effort was being made to draw up a long term campus building plan in conjunction with town planning experts and landscape architects. One Toronto architect was most enthusiastic about the site but suggested that before any decision be taken regarding the first building, a projected

³²T.P., Letter to Tory from P. E. Nobbs, June 17, 1911. Nobbs had been on staff at McGill as Professor of Architecture during Tory's time there.

³³T.P., Letter from Tory to P. E. Nobbs, July 24, 1911.

growth plan for the next fifteen years should be made. It appears that some kind of a master plan was drawn up and practically adopted by the Board of Governors and the Senate.³⁴ Such was the confidence that it was announced that classes would begin the following autumn in a building on the university grounds.

Another event which was to keep the university alive and before the public was the holding of provincial bye-elections, October 31. In the case of Calgary, Bennett's election to the House of Commons, September, 1911, had created a vacancy. The Calgary Conservatives at their nomination meeting October 1 tried to recruit Blow to run but he declined, ostensibly to devote himself to the university work. He indicated however that perhaps in the future, after the university question had been settled, he would consider a nomination. The Conservatives chose instead T. M. Tweedie. The Liberals on October 19 nominated T. J. S. Skinner who indicated that, among other things, he would do everything possible to further the interests of the Calgary university. Speaking at the meeting on behalf of Skinner was L. M. Roberts, a former M.P.P. for High River, who indicated that if he were back in the provincial House he would

³⁴C.A., Friday, October 13, 1911, p. 1. There is a description of the type of campus being considered. The dominating structure was to have been the administration building, although this was not to be built until warranted. The buildings were to be arranged so as to take full advantage of the mountain view and direct access to the city was to have been provided by the westward extension of a main avenue. For the present an effort would be made to build one permanent building.

It is possible that throughout the summer of 1911 little progress was made as regards the campus or the principal because of the absence of Blow, who was in Britain.

strive to have Calgary College elevated to the rank of a university and given a grant.³⁵ Certainly there would be more talk of this in the future.

Immediately following the bye-elections the Calgary university promoters were talking again about raising funds so that their building programme could get underway. This was very strange in view of the large endowment already raised! Also, a new attempt was going to be made to have the charter of Calgary College amended. In the Alberta Gazette, October 24, 1911, appeared an application to be made to the Legislature requesting a change of name from Calgary College to Calgary University and to grant the university degree-conferring powers. While the chartering of Calgary College may have been justified at the time, times had changed and, given such things as the large endowment (which seemingly never was large enough to be utilized), the established organization of the College with its Board of Governors and Senate, and the fact that the building of a permanent campus was about to begin, the College should be elevated in status to that of a full university. Such a move was exactly what had been predicted by Buchanan and others who had consistently opposed the Calgary venture. It appears that the supporters of the move did not care particularly as to the type of university established--a provincial school of technology would have been both welcome and popular--as long as it would be recognized as a university.

³⁵C.A., Friday, October 20, 1911, p. 1. With regard to the bye-elections in which the Conservatives took all four seats, see also Thomas, op. cit., pp. 116 ff. For the names of those elected see Appendix II.

By the end of November, 1911, the usual optimism prevailed and it was widely held that when the matter came before the Legislature the asked for changes would be granted. In Edmonton however there was a general protest against the issue's coming again before the House; after all the existing provincial university was experiencing sufficient financial difficulties, there was no need to compound the issue by acceding to Calgary's request. It was assumed that any university in Calgary would require public support in the form of grants. Outside of Calgary, and to some extent within, the Journal spoke for the vast majority in stating that, whether or not the University of Alberta had been located in the proper place was of no consequence--the university question in Alberta was settled four years ago.³⁶

November saw also another pressure campaign in Calgary to raise funds so that the first building could be started, hopefully to be opened in 1912. The Board of Governors had decided upon the priorities--first to be built would be an arts building costing \$500,000-\$600,000, which was to house for the time being the library and various kinds of equipment. Secondly, a dormitory was planned costing some \$250,000-\$400,000. The building date was to be determined by the success of this latest campaign which opened on November 24. The target was \$250,000. It was reported in the

³⁶E.J., Wednesday, November 22, 1911, p. 4.

Albertan that by November 27 some \$177,405 had been raised.³⁷

Tregillus supposedly gave \$5,000, Blow increased his donation from \$20,000 to \$40,000, and it was even claimed that gifts had been provided for eight chairs. In estimating the expected annual student population it was felt certain that the Calgary area could provide at least 150 matriculants--the local Y.M.C.A. 20 (the number enrolled in its night classes), Bishop Pinkham College 10-15, Mount Royal 10-15, Western Canada College 30-35, the local high schools 40-50, plus others from the surrounding district. These calculations ignored the fact that a student often will go to the university of his choice and that need not be the local one. It was claimed also that the law students in the city had been organized, appointed a dean, and sought affiliation with Calgary university. It is little wonder that for those accepting such figures, success seemed guaranteed. In spite of all the bravado some heed should have been paid to an editorial in the Journal, which had appeared earlier in the

³⁷C.A., Tuesday, November 28, 1911, p. 1. It was probably not lost upon Blow et al. that a good response for funds from the public would strengthen the College's case before the Legislature. As usual it is difficult to know how much money was given and how much simply promised. At the outset of the campaign it was estimated that total gifts had reached \$1,000,000, broken down as follows: 740 acres of land valued at \$600,000 and expected to double in value in the near future; cash from private citizens - \$225,000; cash promised - \$200,000; donation from Lord Strathcona - \$25,000; City of Calgary grant - \$150,000. See C.H., Friday, November 17, p. 1.

These figures however are unreliable--so much of the money was in 'promises' and, being a time of real estate boom, the land values were grossly inflated. There is no evidence they ever had 740 acres and if they did it certainly was not worth over \$800 per acre! Whatever their assets were they were largely on paper only or perhaps were purely imaginative.

month and which dealt with the difficulties faced by private universities. While commending Calgary for its spirit of citizenship and a showing of much zeal, it should be remembered that although much had been raised it was only the beginning and "if they will study the experience of McGill and other universities that have to appeal to private purses for maintenance funds they will find what a short distance a large sum will go."³⁸ The opposition to the Calgary scheme always was based, in part, upon the suspicion that sooner or later any such institution would seek public assistance and so weaken the provincial university.

By December attention was focused upon the proposed Calgary University Bill and it seems to have come as a great surprise to many in Calgary that it encountered any opposition. It was claimed that the promoters were asking for no assistance in any form from the Legislature; all they sought was degree-conferring power and so transform the College into a complete university. The degree-conferring power was seen as the great panacea--it was automatically assumed that once this was granted, then Calgary students attending university elsewhere, especially in the east, would enroll at home. It was little wonder that within five years it was predicted that the enrollment at a Calgary university would be from 500-1,000 students. Clearly, therefore, the Legislature, if it wished to encourage higher education in Alberta, should pass the bill. That there was any opposition to the scheme obviously was due largely to

³⁸E.J., Monday, December 11, 1911, p. 4.

one man--Tory.

The opposition is founded upon a desire of certain members in parliament instigated by President Tory of Alberta University and others to severely embarrass the Calgary institution and if possible make the creation of a university in Calgary an impossibility.³⁹

Tory's views on higher education were no secret. However, the charge that Tory personally conducted a campaign against the Calgary project was vigorously denied by Chancellor Stuart. The charge was based upon a rumour that, at a recent meeting of the University of Alberta Senate, at which Stuart was present, Tory started to organize the opposition. Tory himself denied the accusation and, in a letter to Trenholme Dickson of Macleod, wrote: "The statement that has been made in the Calgary papers of yesterday that the Senate discussed the Calgary Bill is absolutely false. The question was never mentioned in the Senate and I have taken no part in the agitation concerning the Calgary Bill."⁴⁰ Tory was a man of integrity and was much too shrewd to enter the political arena in such a manner.

The year was drawing to a close with the university question a very live issue. All the old arguments were reiterated along with

³⁹C.A., Tuesday, December 19, 1911, p. 3.

⁴⁰T.P. Letter from Tory to Trenholm Dickson, December 20, 1911. Chancellor Stuart in a letter dated December 18 to the Calgary Herald said, regarding the Senate meeting: "I presided at that meeting. The question of the Calgary bill was not discussed, and not even referred to at any time." In his opinion the entire affair was, on the face of it, nothing but a deliberate attempt to injure the University of Alberta and Tory and to stir up ill-feeling in Calgary.

the usual press tirade against the government for its handling of university matters in general and its opposition to the latest Calgary bill in particular. There was however a new tactic in that if the government, as seemed to be the case, was determined to hold back Calgary deliberately, then perhaps it was time to think about affiliation with one of the eastern universities. It was ever assumed that such affiliation could be had for the asking. However, it was stressed that the Calgary promoters really did not desire affiliation except as a last resort because they saw it as the result of the Legislature's forcing their institution out of the province.⁴¹ There was a feeling that the Legislature would not be so unfair. The government's attitude however was causing unrest and considerable discontentment even in the Calgary Liberal circles, where it was felt that university matters should not become party issues but since they appeared headed in that direction the Conservatives could not help but gain at the next election. Calgary Liberals demonstrated perhaps a lack of party unity in Alberta but more important their attitude was a reflection of sectionalism--they were Calgarians first and what was good for Calgary was good for the rest of the province.⁴²

⁴¹The affiliation attempt is dealt with in Chapter IV.

⁴²See the account in C.A., Friday, December 22, 1911, p. 3, for a discussion of party politics and the university. The paper predicted that when the Bill comes up for the vote all the opposition will support it, thus leaving the Liberals with the ignominy of defeating it. As it happened however party lines were crossed in the voting.

As the New Year opened it was reported that Dr. E. E. Braithwaite had been offered the deanship of Calgary university and that his acceptance was almost assured. His appointment was confirmed but the Board of Governors still was looking for a president, especially one fitted to develop the technical departments.⁴³ It was rumoured also that the university issue might be settled by using the endowment raised for the proposed university to develop a first class school of technology which could become affiliated with

⁴³C.N.T., Saturday, January 20, 1912, p. 2. Braithwaite was in Toronto at this time as was Blow, who had left Calgary January 6 to confer with Braithwaite and to attempt to interest eastern capitalists in giving money to the Calgary university. Also, he was to ascertain what arrangements might be made with McGill as regarded affiliation.

Blow gave an interview to the Toronto News and proceeded to release the most grandiose financial account yet made about Calgary university--760 acres and subscriptions of over \$1,200,000. Work on the first building was scheduled to begin in the spring. It appears however that while in Toronto Blow was looking for a donor of \$250,000 to be used for the initial building, the total cost of which would be about \$500,000 when the wings were added at some future date. It was stipulated that the donor had to be Canadian.

Rev. Edward Ernest Braithwaite (1865-1928), B.A. (Toronto, 1886), B.D. (Oberlin 1910), M.A. (Harvard 1901), Ph.D. (Harvard 1904). He had pastored in St. Louis and Yarmouth, Nova Scotia; Acting Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature at Oberlin 1901-1902; Pastor of Northern Congregational Church, Toronto 1908-1911; Dean of Calgary College 1912-1913; President of Western University, London, Ontario, 1914-1919.

It is not clear how Braithwaite came to be chosen. The Board of Governors and the Senate wrote to Falconer October 13, 1911, asking if he could recommend someone to the College. He replied that he was unable at that time to suggest anyone because of the combination of qualities which were sought. See F.P., Letter from Falconer to Scott and Blow, October 21, 1911. However, Falconer may have had something to do with the appointment as he and Braithwaite had conversed at least once prior to Braithwaite's coming to Calgary.

There was a tendency to use the terms 'principal' and 'president' interchangeably. 'Principal' reflected the eastern usage at such as McGill and Queen's, whereas 'President' was more in the American and western tradition.

the University of Alberta and thus share in the government grant. Such a suggestion was unofficial and it is not clear how it started--Tory's name naturally was associated with it but it is doubtful if this was justified. The idea however held little appeal for the Calgary promoters for while they were interested very much in technology and in establishing a good working relationship with the University of Alberta, they were intent upon creating a university. Such a university might perhaps specialize in technical education and applied science but would not be limited necessarily to those fields. The general Calgary feeling was summed up in an editorial: "If we are to have a school of technology, which is most expensive to maintain, we can well have the other departments, for which there is a need and which could be maintained without much additional cost."⁴⁴ Calgary therefore sought degree-conferring powers and, if granted, no affiliation would be necessary; if refused then perhaps affiliation with an eastern university would be the solution.⁴⁵

By the latter part of January, 1912, it was by no means certain that Calgary's second university bill was going to succeed. In Calgary the feeling had been that, all things considered, the

⁴⁴C.A., Saturday, January 6, 1912, p. 3. There was some unofficial support in Edmonton for the idea of creating a technical school in Calgary. It was argued that not only was such a school needed but there would be no danger of any overlapping with the provincial university and therefore no danger that the university would be weakened in any way. See E.J., January 13, 1912, p. 4.

⁴⁵In thinking about affiliation with an eastern university the Calgary people always assumed that their institution would be allowed to stamp the degrees--degrees which would carry the weight of the affiliating institution.

Legislature surely would not take a narrow view of things and deny the request, but then the Calgary promoters long since had lost touch, if indeed they ever had it, with educational reality in the province.⁴⁶ This new Calgary bill had not yet had its second reading even though it had been on the order paper since mid-December. The general consensus was that the bill would be defeated.⁴⁷ The News Telegram came to the startling, although typically Calgary, conclusion that the rumoured reaction to Calgary's reasonable request could mean only that all sections of the province were so "insanely jealous of Calgary that they are willing to demean themselves by trying to check her educational development since they find they

⁴⁶For example, the C.A., Monday, January 22, 1912, p. 3, declared that out of the total population south of Red Deer (i.e., 200,000), by U.S. standards some 220 should have been attending university but Alberta was nowhere near this figure. It claimed that not six were attending the University of Alberta nor thirty attending outside universities. These figures were very much at variance with those of Tory who said that out of a total enrollment of 129, 30 came from Calgary and the south and only about one-third from the Edmonton district. Tory stressed that in order to keep Alberta students in the province, one strong, efficient university was needed. "It is a well known fact that the chief advocate of the Calgary College [i.e., Blow] has been advising the students in the South not to go to the University of Alberta but to go to Eastern universities." T.P., undated document (probably written in 1911).

⁴⁷C.N.T., Thursday, January 25, 1912, p. 1. The report was labelled as a special one from Edmonton and indicated that the majority of the M.P.P.'s in their lobbies had agreed to vote against the bill. It was indicated also that at that time Calgary was unrepresented in the House as Cushing was ill and there was some doubt as to whether he would be able to attend and Tweedie had not appeared in the House since the Christmas recess.

The various Calgary attempts to secure university incorporation through the legislature were all private members' bills. It is unusual for such a bill, either in the federal or provincial house, to get beyond the first reading.

cannot check her commercial progress."⁴⁸

Blow returned to Calgary from the east January 31, 1912, and brought news which aroused considerable interest. Should the Calgary bill not be passed then he "was assured by President [sic] Peterson of McGill, that there would be no difficulty in making satisfactory arrangements, whereby the full courses for a degree at McGill University could be taken in the Calgary College."⁴⁹ He indicated also that financial assistance very likely would be forthcoming from Ottawa as the Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. Mr. Burrell, and the Minister of Labor, the Hon. Mr. Crothers, were favourably disposed towards the encouragement of technical and agricultural education in the west. He also met the Hon. Mr. Rogers, Minister of the Interior, regarding a land grant and was told that an investigation would be made into the possibility of turning over to a Calgary university certain parcels of federal land in the city. While in the east Blow also visited New York where he saw Mr. Carnegie's secretary who assured him that his application for financial assistance would receive consideration. In Toronto he met many businessmen who told him how impressed they were that a city such as Calgary should subscribe so heavily towards a university and that they felt it should be encouraged. (Blow assumed he could expect money!) It is little wonder that an account such as this aroused considerable interest. He confirmed that Braithwaite had been engaged by him as Acting Dean

⁴⁸C.N.T., Saturday, January 27, 1912, p. 16.

⁴⁹C.A., Thursday, February 1, 1912, p. 1. This was not a direct quote by Blow. It is difficult to believe that Blow was in fact told such a thing.

and would be arriving in Calgary about mid-February to hire staff, organize curriculum, and prepare generally for the opening of classes October 1, 1912.

The second reading of the Calgary bill was scheduled for February 6. The vote in the Legislature was to be an open one with Sifton and others in the government taking no active part either in support or in opposition. The indications were that Calgary would have to get its university through affiliation as there was little chance of the bill's passing. The House was told that the net assets of the Calgary institute were over \$1,131,000 (772 acres valued at \$504,000 and subscriptions totalling \$627,900), which at 6 per cent would yield an annual income of \$66,000. This, plus fees, it was claimed, was equal to or larger than the income of the University of Alberta. Should the bill be defeated this would be tantamount to interfering with the rights of individuals to give their own money to higher education. Such a view of individual rights, so far as education was concerned, conflicts with Section 92 of the British North America Act which vests in the province the absolute control over all aspects of education. An attempt was made also to justify a second university by the fact that the province was divided naturally into two parts, therefore it needed two universities. Tweedie emphasized that a university was vital if Calgary were to enjoy the same supremacy in education as she did in commerce between Winnipeg and Vancouver. H. Riley implied that British pre-eminence was due to her privately endowed educational institutions; Calgary educationists therefore should be allowed to spend their money as they

wished. Riley ignores, of course, that the pre-eminence of Germany and the United States also might be due to the excellence of their respective educational institutions. Glendenning stressed that in Calgary there were some 8,000 pupils to form the nucleus of a university. Moore favoured the bill because he did not think that education should be a state monopoly and in a government university the staff would be subject to politics. Of those opposed, Rutherford was the most penetrating as he stressed that the time had not yet come for a second university, that Calgary was in no position financially to support such a university and, as yet, no educational work had been undertaken and no staff appointed. The Hon. J. R. Boyle, Minister of Education, sympathized with Tweedie that a city the size of Calgary should have a university and indicated that if Calgary were suffering any real hardship he would vote for the bill. However, as it was, he felt that the College could arrange to get degrees through the provincial university. The vote was taken and, with eight abstentions, the bill was defeated 17 to 15.⁵⁰

⁵⁰C.A., Wednesday, February 7, 1912, p. 1. Those in favour: Mitchener, Tweedie, Patterson, Stewart (Lethbridge), Riley, Kemmis, Cushing, Hoadley, Roberts (High River), Moore, Glendenning, O'Brien, Puffer, Cornwall and Stauffer. Those opposed: Rutherford, Cross, Simpson, Boyle, McKenzie, Mitchell, Sifton, Boudreau, Cote, Telford, Holden, McDougall, Smith, Stewart (Sedgewick), McPherson, Green, McKenny. Of the 15 in favour, 13 were from the south, 2 from the north. They consisted of 7 Liberals, 7 Conservatives, 1 Socialist. Of the 17 opposed, 14 were from the north, 3 from the south. All were Liberals.

See also: E.B., Wednesday, February 7, 1912, p. 1. It pointed out that G. P. Smith indicated that he sympathized with the Calgary problem and probably would have supported the bill had a guarantee been given that for a number of years no financial assistance would be sought from the province.

The disappointment in Calgary was tempered by the rationalization that:

. . . Preparations have been made to affiliate with McGill University. Then a full university course will be given here. The degrees will bear the stamp of McGill University. . . . Such a degree will be more valuable than a Calgary University degree could possibly be for some years to come. . . .⁵¹

Nonetheless there was a strong feeling of humiliation and regret. It was rumoured that the university system in the province was going to be reorganized with Calgary College and the Strathcona institution becoming colleges in the one university. The idea was not new but it was understood to have the support of Sifton and of other members of the Legislature who voted against the bill. The scheme would be flexible enough so as to admit other centres, for example Lethbridge, in the future. There is no evidence that such a scheme was being considered at all at this time, let alone seriously. Meanwhile, the educational issue in Calgary was by no means dead and a meeting of all those interested in the university question was called for Friday, February 9, to plan future strategy.

⁵¹C.A., Wednesday, February 7, 1912, p. 1.

CHAPTER IV

A TIME OF FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY AND A SEEKING OF PUBLIC SUPPORT

Following the failure in February to obtain degree-conferring powers for Calgary College attention was focussed for some time upon the attempts to get affiliation with McGill, attempts which caused some concern to Tory. McGill had become well known in affiliation matters especially after its work in establishing a college in Vancouver. Its policy in such matters was very straight forward. McGill

would always be willing to give the benefit of its assistance, and, under proper safeguards, a certain degree of recognition to the work of higher education, as it may be undertaken in any centre sufficiently populous to afford a prospect of success and far enough away from other centres to justify intervention on geographical grounds.¹

The affiliation question was discussed at a Board of Trade meeting February 9. Some felt that the recent action of the Legislature might prove to be a blessing in disguise as it would spur Calgary to greater efforts to prove that there was a need for a Calgary university. Blow recounted the interview he had had with Principal Peterson of McGill and suggested that the Calgary institution could not help but benefit from affiliation, especially since it would mean considerable home rule in educational matters and the offering

¹McGill Corporation Minutes, McGill Archives, February 9, 1910. This statement of policy was enunciated in conjunction with the question of affiliating the Regina School.

of a full course in arts. If and when the Calgary College ever got degree-conferring powers it would be no effort nor cause any ill-will to terminate the affiliation arrangement. An important consideration too was that through a McGill connection Calgary degrees would be of greater worth. Blow received sufficient support at the meeting that the following resolutions were passed:

a) This meeting of Calgary citizens strongly urges the Senate and Board of Governors to proceed to develop the proposed Calgary College and suggests its affiliation to the best advantage.

b) That this meeting instruct the Building Committee to proceed at once with the preparations for the building of Calgary College.²

In view of the fact that, since his return from the East, Blow publicly had announced affiliation plans Tory could not remain unconcerned. He was not exactly certain just what Blow had been told in Montreal, so he wrote to Peterson and gave him a very cogent summation of the situation:

Dr. Blow on his return from the East about a month ago made the public announcement, which has been published in the Calgary papers on various occasions since, that you had agreed to affiliate the Calgary College with McGill University. I refused to accept their statement of the fact and I write to ask you whether such is really the case. . . . the whole question is one of a struggle for

²Reported in the C.A., Saturday, February 10, 1912, p. 1. While Blow generally was supported there were some doubts expressed, notably by W. M. Davidson who felt that the entire issue really was a provincial affair and perhaps should be settled within a provincial framework. Davidson would have preferred the scheme whereby Calgary and Edmonton each could have had a college, each on an equal footing. Such a scheme had been rumoured and Blow thought that it might prove a reasonable compromise but, since little had been heard about it, he favoured the other course of action.

the location of the Government University. Calgary wanted the University and failed to get it. They have no desire to affiliate with any Eastern place, but are simply trying to get some Eastern University, first Toronto, second McGill, to give them the strength of their [sic] name so as to compell [sic] the Government to give them University powers.³

In his letter of reply Peterson stated that in his conversation with Blow he (Blow) said, after giving a general review of the progress made thus far, that the technical departments of the University of Alberta would have to be at Calgary, owing to the considerations of commerce, industry, and population. It was true that Blow had asked if Calgary College could rely upon affiliation with McGill and was told that when such an application was received it would be considered in the light of regulations on the whole subject; accordingly Blow was referred to the regulation of the Corporation drawn up in conjunction with the Regina High School application for affiliation.

³T.P. Letter from Tory to Peterson, February 15, 1912. This letter is also on file in the McGill Archives.

It has been claimed as well that Calgary College sought affiliation with Queen's University. P. Weston, "The History of Education in Calgary" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1951), says, after remarking that McMaster University had awarded affiliation to Brandon College, that the "Governors of Calgary College petitioned for a similar understanding with Queen's University at Kingston, Ontario." (p. 73). The same comment is given by L. A. Daniels, "The History of Education in Calgary (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Washington, 1954), p. 207. In neither case is a reference given. Such affiliation may have been talked about but if it actually was sought Queen's has no record of the matter. A search made by the Assistant Archivist, Harold Naugler, of the Queen's Letters, Principal's Reports, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, and Principal Gordon's personal papers, revealed nothing. This information is from a letter to N. L. McLeod from H. Naugler, Assistant Archivist, Queen's University, January 23, 1969.

Dr. Blow is certainly not entitled to say, if he has said it in so many words, that I had "agreed to affiliate the Calgary College with McGill University" . . . I find it difficult to believe your statement that the Calgary people have no desire to affiliate with any eastern place. I simply made to Dr. Blow a careful statement of what McGill's attitude is to affiliation generally . . .⁴

There is little doubt that Blow deliberately had misrepresented the substance of his discussions at McGill. This is not surprising considering he had been doing the same thing when talking about the endowment of the university.

Meanwhile every effort was being made to get the university launched 'physically' and to hire competent staff. By February still no definite building plans had been drawn up but it was announced that some would be ready in the near future. The plan still was to construct an arts building first, to cost ultimately \$500,000, but initially \$250,000 would be spent. Blow spoke also of building eight dormitories, two to be built for each year's class up to four years, costing about \$50,000 each. Where the necessary money would be found never was made clear other than the

⁴T.P. Letter to Tory from Peterson, February 22, 1912. Attached to the letter was a lengthy statement signed by Peterson and Dean Moyse outlining the conversation they had had with Blow. Blow was told that before affiliation would be entertained he would have to show that the staff was adequate to meet and to maintain McGill standards. Also, there would have to be a willingness to submit to examination from McGill. Therefore, as far as Blow was entitled to go was to say that Calgary College was considering submitting to McGill an application for affiliation. It was stipulated by McGill also that no monopoly would be given to the affiliated university--its students would be free to attend the university of their choice.

Blow spoke of affiliation as guaranteeing considerable independence in the education field. It is questionable if Calgary College would have been quite as independent as he assumed.

fact that it was hoped to encourage the wealthy to donate handsomely and so perpetuate their names by having the buildings named after them. Up to this point at least most of the city's wealthy had not shown any great enthusiasm for the university project. As regards the library it was hoped that the costs of this would be defrayed by a Carnegie grant, although there is nothing to indicate that such a hope was justified.⁵ Still it was said that many architects throughout Canada and the United States had responded to the advertisements calling for plans for the first buildings. The intent still was to open in the autumn of 1912 and to expedite things a university office was opened in the Mackie Block, 238 - 8th Avenue West.⁶

By the end of March the expectation was that finally the university would be getting underway and Braithwaite was busy proclaiming the virtues of having two universities in the province. He stressed that the interest in, and quality of education would be improved and that such intellectual advancement was one of the best

⁵The Calgary university venture came to the attention of Canadian Collier which asserted that, while the scheme was a good one, Calgary really was not interested in education. The entire movement simply reflected the attitude of the nouveaux riches who felt that anything, even a university, could be bought for cash. See C.N.T., March 8, 1912. There may be some truth to this charge although, looking at Blow, one wonders if they were not trying to get a university without cash!

⁶Once the office was opened all those who had contributed were notified. For example, see Calgary Brewery Papers, GFA. Letter to A. E. Cross from Messrs. Braithwaite and Blow, March 26, 1912. Apart from being a general discussion of future plans it is interesting to note that such letters were sent out on official stationery labelled University of Calgary. Shortly afterwards Braithwaite announced that the term 'University' was being maintained so as to indicate the determination to settle for nothing less.

safeguards against materialism.⁷ This sentiment was in keeping with Braithwaite's theological (Congregationalist) background. Judging from their public statements it is highly unlikely that Blow and many of his supporters were much concerned with such anti-material aspects of a university. A noted English landscape expert, T. H. Mawson, inspected the proposed university site on April 9 and was most impressed.⁸ Plans apparently were proceeding as regards the hiring of staff although no appointments as yet had been made. Perhaps the great banquet held April 23 to honour Braithwaite may be regarded as the real launching of the university project. Bennett spoke and, just as the opposition long had been predicting, he tried to justify state assistance.

We will have two universities in Alberta. The state has got to give us some aid for the establishment of the University of Calgary, for it is the duty of the state to see that the vast cosmopolitan population which is gathering here is assimilated to our institutions, becomes true to our traditions and realises something of our potentialities.⁹

Braithwaite commented upon the endowment, the objectives of a university education and the efforts being made to hire men of scholarship and character. "We are in touch with a number of men and it is probable that the professorship of the first chair will be

⁷See, for example, C.N.T., March 29, 1912, p. 10, for a summary of remarks made by Braithwaite to businessmen at the Canadian Club.

⁸See Calgary, T. H. Mawson & Sons, pp. 43-45. A copy is available in the City of Calgary Records.

⁹Cited in C.H., Wednesday, April 24, 1912, p. 17.

filled in a week or ten days."¹⁰

The talk of affiliation had subsided but there was considerable behind-the-scenes activity. Walter Murray had been in the East and upon his return to Saskatoon he wrote to Tory that while in Toronto he was told that

McGill was favorable to granting affiliation with Calgary . . . if you are writing to President [sic] Peterson about the matter it would not do any harm to say that I agree with you in holding that the action of McGill is a very serious one and against the best interests of higher education in the west.¹¹

Early in May Braithwaite had received word from the Registrar of McGill that no trouble was expected in arranging for affiliation and that arrangements could be made by which students of the University of Calgary could be admitted to McGill on an equal footing with those already attending. McGill naturally was concerned about the quality of the staff but Braithwaite was confident that it would meet all expectations.¹² Tory decided not to become involved in the issue.

¹⁰Ibid. This was a reference to an offer having been made to Mack Eastman--an offer of the Skinner Chair in History. At the time of the banquet no reply had been received but his acceptance was expected. By May 1 Eastman wired acceptance of the professorship in history and English literature. Eastman was completing his Ph.D. at Columbia. He had graduated from Toronto (1907); served as Professor of History and English at Western University, London, Ontario, 1907-1908; spent three years studying in Europe, mainly at the Sorbonne 1908-1911; was appointed a Fellow at Columbia, 1911.

¹¹T.P. Letter to Tory from Murray, April 10, 1912. Murray continued: "The day undoubtedly will come when two Universities will be necessary, but that will not be for at least ten years, and until that time comes it is nothing else than a calamity for financial interests and financial resources to be divided among competing institutions."

¹²C.H., Friday, May 10, 1912, p. 1. The article indicated that there was a possibility that McGill degrees may be conferred

He wrote to Murray:

With regard to the Calgary affiliation with McGill I do not think it any use to take the matter up at all. If I wished to fight it in the open I could defeat it easily in the McGill corporation, but it means a tirade of abuse here. I have absolutely no confidence in Peterson.¹³

In spite of all the talk about commencing buildings on the permanent campus nothing thus far had been done; hence once again there was doubt if classes really would get underway in autumn as had been announced earlier. Braithwaite indicated that they would begin as planned, although in temporary quarters if necessary. The building committee met May 23 and selected a number of plans regarded as being suitable. The architects then were asked to submit more detailed drawings from which a final selection would be made. There was no doubt at this late date that temporary quarters would have to be found if classes were to begin that year. On May 24 it was announced that the university definitely would open in the autumn, despite the fact that it had no buildings, staff appointments were not complete, and the McGill affiliation question had not been resolved.¹⁴ Where

through Calgary University.

Perhaps there was a possibility of such for the future but as of May, 1912, there was no actual affiliation and Calgary had not as yet formally applied for affiliation. The indications were however that the groundwork was being laid and the prospects looked favourable.

As regards staff Braithwaite was doing his best and was in touch with Falconer among others as to who was available to fill the various positions. At other times Falconer voluntarily submitted the names of potential appointees. For example see F.P., Letters to Braithwaite, May 6 and 7, 1912.

¹³T.P. Letter from Tory to Murray, May 13, 1912.

¹⁴C.A., Friday, May 24, 1912, p. 8. It was indicated that Calgary intended to apply to McGill for full affiliation in July. It was probably later than that when application was made. See footnote 24.

the lectures would be held no one knew; the guess by one paper was as accurate as any; that temporary quarters would be found "in some of the new blocks being erected in the city . . . "¹⁵ It was assumed that students would be available: certainly no attempt thus far had been made to estimate what enrollment might be expected.

By the summer of 1912 the organization was beginning to take some kind of shape. It was announced in June that Professor F. M. MacDougall had been appointed to teach chemistry and was expected to arrive in the city in July. The prospects were said to have been good as regards staff and students, a number of whom had indicated their intention to attend. In August it was announced that professors had been hired for chemistry, mathematics, physics, English, economics, and history and it was expected that an appointment would be made shortly in classics and modern languages.¹⁶ There was little

¹⁵C.H., Friday, May 31, 1912, p. 28. As late as August still no quarters had been secured, for a similar statement appeared in the edition of Friday, August 16, 1912, p. 16.

¹⁶Braithwaite at this time was in the East but he had written in August to Dr. MacDougall, the Acting Dean, indicating that he had interviewed a number of men for positions in classics and modern languages and expected to make a recommendation to the Board of Governors. The C.H., Friday, September 6, 1912, p. 15, announced the appointment of Dr. Charles Frederick Ward to the Chair of Modern Languages. He would, for the present year, teach classics as well. Ward was a graduate of Toronto and Ph.D. Chicago; had taught for five years at Wesley College, an affiliate of the University of Manitoba, and for the past two years had been abroad studying, mainly in Paris.

Professor F. M. MacDougall, B.A., M.A. (Queen's); Ph.D. (Leipzig); Professor of Chemistry and Acting Professor of Mathematics.

The C.N.T., Monday, September 23, 1912, p. 32, reported that to date three chairs had been endowed. These had been given by T. J. S. Skinner (History), Henry Swaffer of Vancouver, and a jointly subscribed one by Messrs. Blow, Tregillus, Short and Bryan. No information is given as to the disciplines involved or the amounts given.

doubt now that the university would open as planned. It was indicated that all those entering could be accommodated as well as some who may wish to enter with advance standing. There were applicants therefore for both first and second year classes. Some lectures were to be given in the late afternoon, after 4:30 p.m., for the benefit of teachers and any others who were interested. It was difficult to predict the size of the initial enrollment but some speculated that it would be not less than fifty. Registration was scheduled for September 30 and October 1 in the Public Library, where arrangements had been made to hold lectures.

The university opened September 30 without any public ceremony. A formal opening was planned for a later date. Almost immediately it was announced that a law school would be organized as part of the university. W. Kent Power was expected to be appointed as acting dean.¹⁷ Provision had been made by the Law Society for such lectures to be given but there was a danger that it would bring Calgary University into a collision with the University of Alberta which recently had founded a faculty of law. In any event arrangements had been made early in September by a committee of the Law Students Society to have the university offer certain courses. A full report of these proceedings was forwarded to Tory by Frederick Mayhood of Short, Ross, Selwood and Shaw. Mayhood indicated that

¹⁷W. Kent Power, B.A., L.L.B. (Dalhousie) had been in Calgary for some six months; was editor-in-chief of the Western Weekly Reports published by Burroughs and Co. and was editor of the official reports of the Alberta Law Society. Besides Power, there were within a short time some thirteen other lawyers engaged on a part-time basis to lecture in law.

"it is apparent that there is in the minds of some of those who are working to have Law Lectures established, a plan to have the Law School of the Province permanently established in connection with Calgary College."¹⁸ Tory and others always had felt that this type of competition and overlapping would result if the Calgary project were launched. He could not interfere in the matter but he set forth his views clearly:

. . . In reply I may say that a Faculty of Law has already been founded in the University of Alberta, offering the degree of LL.B., and the University has agreed to undertake Law teaching in any place where there is a sufficient number of students to warrant; that is, if there is a call for it in Calgary, for example, we will give a course leading to the degree of LL.B. at once, the same being arranged to count as a part of the course now being required for the practise of Law in the Province. . . . It is sufficient to say that the so called University of Calgary is not a University but a college and has no degree conferring power.
 . . .¹⁹

Tory certainly was on solid ground. The amendment to the University Act of 1910 placed professional education in the province under the

¹⁸T.P. Letter from Mayhood to Tory, October 3, 1912. Mayhood pointed out that the lectures were going to be offered in accordance with a regulation of the Law Society of Alberta whereby a minimum of twenty lectures would be provided should ten or more law students petition the Law Society for such prior to October 15 and be willing to pay a fee of \$10.00 each providing the expense to the Law Society did not exceed \$500.00 in addition to the fees of the students. The total expenditure by the Society must not exceed \$2,400.00 in any one year. He stated also that when the resolution for the lectures was passed there were some seventeen students present and not all supported the idea. "In answer to the protests of some members of the Law Students Society that the Law School should be under the control and management of the Provincial University, the reply was made that as yet the Provincial University had made no offer or proposition to the Law Students."

¹⁹T.P. Letter to Mayhood from Tory, October 8, 1912. Tory indicated a willingness to discuss the matter with the students.

aegis of the provincial university. So far as law was concerned the Faculty of Law had been established very recently by the Senate, on October 3. Quite obviously the timing was most unfortunate for Calgary.²⁰ Nonetheless the Calgary law plan was being pressed and law lectures were being scheduled along with the others.

Following registration the first meeting of students and faculty was October 4 at which time lecture schedules were arranged. The Public Library facilities were deemed admirable and would be used for lectures until the first building was ready, which, hopefully, would be in the autumn of 1913. Braithwaite indicated that detailed plans were ready and that while the actual construction was not likely to be underway before spring, it was possible that the foundation excavation might begin shortly. However, as he wisely cautioned, nothing as yet was settled definitely.²¹ Apart from the Public Library facilities the university had need of laboratories

²⁰University of Alberta Senate Minute Book, October 3, 1912. On a motion by Rutherford it was agreed to ask the Board of Governors to provide for the work of the Faculty of Law that current year. See Minutes of the Board of Governors, University of Alberta, October 8, 1912. The Board approved the establishment of the Faculty of Law but was not prepared to make any appropriation of University funds for the cost of instruction in law. Arrangements were completed by the spring of 1913 whereby ten practising lawyers told the Board that they were prepared to serve without charge as Law Lecturers--all expenses were to be borne by the Law Society which levied certain fees for educational purposes. Minutes of the Board of Governors, March 20, 1913.

²¹The plans being considered had been drawn by H. B. Dunington-Grubb of Toronto. A large picture of the proposed campus appeared in the C.H., Saturday, September 13, 1912, p. 1.

and permission was sought to use those of the High School.²² The enrollment at the time of opening October 4 stood at thirty-three with a "prospective enrollment in all departments of about one hundred."²³ The thirty-three excluded those who would be taking law lectures as this department was not yet organized. In the hope that law lectures would begin the following week, a schedule was drawn up--Wednesday and Friday, 9 a.m., Contracts for first and second year students; Thursday 9 a.m., Torts for second and third year students. The Board of Governors had confirmed Power's appointment as lecturer in, and head of law.

The official opening of the University of Calgary was held on October 10 in the Public Library and, apart from university

²²Calgary Public School Board Minutes, October 8, 1912. The entry states: "Dean E. E. Braithwaite of the University of Calgary; asking the Board to allow the University to use the Chemical and Physical Laboratories of the High School, from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Saturdays." The following motion was carried: "Moved by Messrs. Sinnott and Hutchings that Mr. Short and Dr. Scott be a committee to make arrangements with the Board of Governors of the University of Calgary in respect to the use by them of the Chemical and Physical Laboratories of the High School, with power to act." The arrangements were made.

²³C.A., Saturday, October 5, 1912, p. 1. A list of those enrolled appeared on page 9 and it showed 10 registered in first year, 11 in second year, and 12 part-time. The university was to be one of "service" and with this in mind lectures were arranged to that as many as possible could take full advantage of them, irrespective it seems whether or not one actually was registered. For example, English, history, economics and languages were scheduled between 4:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m.; mathematics, chemistry and physics, Saturday morning in the High School. It is interesting to note that the utilization of the High School was publicized before permission for such had been granted by the School Board. In keeping with its "service" concept the University of Calgary, in November, 1912, started its own series of extension lectures.

personnel, was attended by a large number of important persons.²⁴ Chancellor Stuart brought greetings and best wishes from the University of Alberta and stressed the need to maintain standards and efficiency; Mayor Mitchell indicated that the city stood ready to render all possible assistance; Blow, exaggerating as usual, stressed that the enrollment stood at about seventy-five and that the University was very close to meeting the conditions stipulated in order to receive the city grant of \$150,000, and Bennett spoke of the institution as being a bulwark of democracy and worthy of patronage by the wealthy. Thus, everything considered, the launching of the institution was deemed very successful.

Before the year closed the affiliation question came to an end. An application for affiliation with McGill definitely had been made.

An application for affiliation was received from Calgary College, Calgary, Alta., and after discussion, it was resolved on motion of Dean Adams, seconded by Dr. Stansfield, to submit the application to the following committee for report:- Dean Moyse, Dean Adams, Professor Dale, Dr. Scrimger, Professor Harkness.²⁵

This committee met and presented the following report through their Chairman, Dean Moyse:

²⁴These included Mayor Mitchell; Chancellor Burwash of Victoria University; Chancellor Stuart of the University of Alberta; R. B. Bennett, M.P.; T. M. Tweedie, M.P.P.; P. Burns and other out of town guests. An invitation had been extended to Mr. Mawson of the University of Liverpool and to Senator Lougheed but neither was able to come. Mawson telegraphed best wishes.

²⁵McGill Corporation Minutes, McGill Archives, October 9, 1912. In the Principal's Letter Book, #19, McGill Archives, there are two letters from Peterson to Blow which are generally illegible. One of them at least appears to be dealing with some other matter.

A meeting of the Committee was held on Oct. 16, 1912. The Chairman read all the documents on both sides bearing on the case, including a letter from Dean Braithwaite, dated October 8, 1912, requesting that the formal application of Calgary College be withdrawn until further correspondence was received from him.

In view of the above request the Committee were unanimously of the opinion that as no formal application lay before them, it was not necessary to discuss details. It was felt, however, that in view of the general academic situation in Alberta, it would be unwise for McGill University to entertain any proposal of affiliation at present.

The report was unanimously adopted.²⁶

It is not at all clear why the application was withdrawn. The decision reached at McGill was certainly other than Blow had led people to expect. It is highly unlikely that Tory was in any way involved. Perhaps it was because of the prevailing optimism when the university finally got underway that it was decided to pursue the original goal of establishing a completely independent university --one which could be useful without interfering in any way with the University of Alberta. A glimpse into the future was provided by one paper which stated that the time definitely had come for the Legislature to grant "full degree conferring powers to the Calgary institution at the approaching session."²⁷

The university operated on a semester system and it was announced at the opening of the winter term, January 6, 1913, that

²⁶McGill Corporation Minutes, November 13, 1912. This report seems to indicate that even had there been a formal application affiliation might not have been granted.

²⁷C.A., Wednesday, November 6, 1912, p. 3.

the enrollment was up considerably. It is difficult to form an accurate picture of the size of the student body as the reports were conflicting and generally there was no break-down given between full and part-time students. One source reported that the enrollment in arts was over one hundred and, by counting the law students, the total enrollment was about one hundred fifty.²⁸ These figures were meaningless. What was certain was that the full-time enrollment was small, a fact which was not lost upon Tory who wrote, regarding the published results of the first term examinations:

23 students in all wrote on their examinations, ten students are reported as taking five subjects; these are probably bona fide students. Three are reported as taking three subjects, four as taking two, and six as taking one. These thirteen students are obviously special students not having any intention of qualifying for degrees. The rest of the one hundred and fifty reported are evidently on-lookers corresponding to people taking Extension Lectures.

A certain number of law students took lectures under arrangements made by the Law Society, but these examinations are controlled by the Law Society and conducted by the University of Alberta for them and degrees, if any, are conferred by the University of Alberta.

These facts relate to the Christmas examinations and would indicate that there were probably ten genuine students.²⁹

Few, if any, in Calgary analyzed things as did Tory. With an eye on the \$150,000 civic grant, an incomplete enrollment picture continued to be published.

²⁸C.H., Wednesday, January 8, 1913, pp. 10 and 19. The C.A., Friday, February 28, 1913, p. 50, gave the total as 160.

²⁹T.P. An undated memo but in all likelihood written early in 1913.

Four months of active work by Calgary University had shown that the claims of the promoters of that institution were justified. . . . Calgary University is attended by more than 100 students, who but for it would be getting no instruction. The argument that the province is not large enough for two universities has already been shattered.³⁰

Undoubtedly there were many receiving instruction who, but for the Calgary institution, may have received none, but it was never shown that these people had met legitimate university entrance requirements.

There still was concern over the fact that many of the wealthy had not responded to the appeal for money. The endowment fund received a gift of \$25,000 from Lord Strathcona and it was hoped that this would stimulate others to contribute.³¹

By the middle of January, 1913, it was apparent that yet another attempt would be made to get the university title granted by the Legislature, notice to this effect having been given by Calgary College and published in the Alberta Gazette. The College was going to ask for the right to grant degrees and certificates

³⁰C.H., Monday, January 6, 1913, p. 3. Braithwaite, who had gone East in December, returned to Calgary January 6. Among other things, he indicated that he had conferred with architects regarding university buildings.

³¹During the summer of 1912 when Blow was in Britain he visited Lord Strathcona and solicited aid for the university. He was told that when the university funds totalled \$475,00 the university would receive sufficient funds to raise the total to \$500,000. Strathcona had told T. J. S. Skinner the same thing, when the latter also approached him for funds in London, 1912. In January, 1913, word was received that the cheque had been forwarded.

Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona (1820-1914)--a financier intimately associated with the building of the C.P.R.; served in Parliament 1871-1881 and 1887-1896; 1889 became Governor of Hudson's Bay Co.

and to make provision for the appointing of a chancellor and vice-chancellor. With the institution now formally underway and with a claimed enrollment of well over one hundred it was felt that the Legislature could hardly refuse the request. As usual the claim for improved status was based, in part, upon a so-called demand on the part of the entire southern part of the province for a university in Calgary. Calgary buttressed its arguments by indicating that third year work was scheduled to begin in the autumn of 1913 and that various departments would be established shortly to concentrate upon the practical side of education. Thus, being private and therefore free from state restrictions and entanglements, the Calgary University was able to be closer to the mass of the people and could attune people's interests to higher ideals and so offset the demoralizing effects of acquired wealth. The moral and elevating effects of education very much concerned Braithwaite; Blow and some others rather less so. Therefore, with regard to the College Charter it was simply "taken for granted that this would be enlarged in a short time. . . ." ³² Tory was very much alive to the situation and he outlined his views in a letter to the Hon. J. R. Boyle, Minister of Education.

³²C.A., Friday, February 28, 1913, p. 50. Also stressed was the fact that a start on the permanent buildings was imminent and autumn next would see a move to the new campus. The C.H., Monday, February 3, 1913, p. 1, reported the gift by six donors of another forty-six acres of land in the vicinity of the proposed campus. For the Calgary College announcement see Alberta Gazette, 1913, p. 842.

Calgary College certainly has no more claim than Alberta College nor perhaps half a dozen other institutions of a religious character which will arise in the future, and to give to one means claims of all being recognized. All the western provinces, even Manitoba, have stood firm to one University principle. This session they want Degree Conferring power, next they will want money. Mr. Bennett declared in my hearing and in that of four or five others that the time would come when the University here would be torn down and removed to Calgary, so hostile has the group represented by Dr. Blow been to the State University.³³

Tory had never wavered in his belief in the principle of university unity in the province.

The Calgary bill fared worse in this third attempt than it did in the second in that it was killed before being given second reading. On March 4, 1913, a motion for second reading was moved by T. M. Tweedie and it was defeated 21 to 12.³⁴ Some of the discussion in the House was quite heated. Riley argued that Calgary College had one hundred forty-five students and therefore

³³T.P. Letter from Tory to the Hon. J. R. Boyle, February 28, 1913. Tory discusses also the struggle which had taken place in California to divide the state's interest in education between the northern and southern parts of the state, attempts which were defeated in the Legislature. Also mentioned was the situation in Montana and Ontario where educational division was allowed at the outset and where attempts now were being made to establish some kind of unity. He emphasized how many Ontario universities, notably Queen's, were making an effort to secure state support.

³⁴Those voting in favour were: Michener (C), Tweedie (C), Hoadley (C), Patterson, Kemmis (C), Riley (C), Stewart (C. Lethbridge), Cushing, Stauffer, Roberts, Holden, Glendenning. Those opposed: Sifton, Mitchell, Marshall, McLean, McDougall, Smith, Simpson, Boyle, McKenzie, Shaw, Olin, Moore, Stewart, McKenny, Boudreau, Rutherford, Lessard, Walker, Coté, McPherson, Gunn. Those marked 'C' were Conservative M.P.P.'s.

Of the 1912 Calgary Supporters, Cornwall, Puffer and O'Brien abstained and Moore changed sides and voted against the bill, as did those who had abstained the previous year. In 1913 all the Conservatives supported the motion.

it was not simply a preparatory school as were the other colleges in Calgary; thus, there would be no danger that these other schools would seek degree-conferring power. He accused Boyle of having stated during the previous session that if it could be ascertained that Calgary College would not seek future financial assistance, then the government would not be averse to the granting of university powers. This Boyle vigorously denied and demanded that the statement be withdrawn. Riley complied. Cushing supported Calgary but suggested as a possible compromise the creation of a single Senate for both Edmonton and Calgary, with each to have a college and one set of examinations for both. To this Sifton replied: "That proposition was made to a committee representing Calgary College last year and composed of Messrs. Blow, Short, and Davidson and it was turned down. 'That will never do,' replied Dr. Blow at that time, 'we want a university of our own.'"³⁵ It was always unfortunate for the Calgary venture that Blow was singularly unable to grasp political realities and to differentiate between what was wanted (or perhaps what he wanted) and what was feasible. Moore attempted to justify his changing sides and voting against the bill by stating that Calgary College was sending out literature calling itself the Calgary University. He implied that its students were being obtained under false pretenses. Riley explained that certain things had been printed earlier when the name University of Calgary was first applied for. Since Calgary College was doing university work the Albertan

³⁵C.A., Wednesday, March 5, 1913, p. 8.

remarked that there was "nothing at all questionable by using the name. The legislators who questioned the right were drawing the line a little too fine."³⁶ However, the general feeling on the part of the Calgary supporters was that the bill at least should have been allowed to reach the committee stage and there to receive a thorough discussion.

The chief opponent of the bill was the Hon. J. R. Boyle. He intimated that there was a possibility of the University Act being amended so that any college with requisite standards could obtain degrees through the University of Alberta. He said, too, almost repeating what Tory had told him, that what Calgary could claim so could other institutions and the result for education would be a loss in efficiency and an increase in costs. Besides, he could see no major difference between this bill and those of the previous two years. Following the defeat of Tweedie's motion Boyle issued a statement to the press succinctly outlining the government's attitude.

It is the policy of the government to retain the certificates of educational proficiency from the public school to the university inclusive. The university act will be amended so as to make it quite clear that any college in the province preparing students for university degrees shall have the right to have such degrees conferred by the provincial university upon the students attaining the same standard of proficiency required by the university authorities of their own students.³⁷

It was obvious that some sort of compromise would have to be worked

³⁶Ibid., p. 3.

³⁷C.H., Wednesday, March 5, 1913, p. 16.

out but this would be difficult as long as the Calgary people remained suspicious of the government and as long as the government looked upon the Calgary College as one designed to further political rather than educational ends. Certainly for the next while the university issue would be wide open and the feeling of animosity towards the government in some Calgary circles would be running higher than usual.

Blow was bitterly disappointed over the rejection of the bill, regarding it as a personal defeat. His difficulty was however that he refused to face realities and to see that the educational views of the government and of Tory were enunciated in 1907 and basically had not changed. In truth, the Calgary scheme never had the purported support outside the city and never was there much effort made by the Calgary group to admit the validity of any other point of view. It is little wonder that Blow could remark:

Any reasonable person will admit that our request to the government was a very just one, we have not asked to be placed in a position of advantage over any other institution, but we have simply asked that our college be given equal powers with others of the same standing in the province.³⁸

What Blow meant in fact was that Calgary College was to be given powers equal to those of the University of Alberta. The Calgary Herald could do little but appear astonished at being told that it was the aim of the government to centralize higher education.

Unfortunately too little attention was paid by the Calgary

³⁸C.H., Thursday, March 6, 1913, p. 20.

College supporters to the cost of higher education and it was hardly adequate to talk of the great endowment of the Calgary institution when no effort had been made to ascertain what part of that endowment actually was in being and what part merely promised. Neither was it enough to support Calgary's claim by arguing that, before many years had passed, southern Alberta would need and be able to support one university and probably two. Tory showed much greater acumen in these matters and he had the ear of the government.

The provincial election scheduled for April 17, 1913, did nothing to bring calm to the education scene. Dr. Blow was running on the Conservative ticket and, while he appeared somewhat reluctant to drag the university question into politics, others supporting him took up the cause. The crusade was led by the Calgary Herald and, while many of its own comments could not have been taken seriously, others were prompted to write in support of Blow. The Rev. A. MacWilliams, soon to be appointed Registrar of Calgary University, probably spoke for many when he said, after rejecting the idea that one university was adequate, that:

We were told that if Edmonton got the capital Calgary would get the university. But Edmonton was given both. I do not call this a square deal to the populous southern part of the province. Having thus been denied the university we find Dr. Blow giving up three years to the magnificent work of founding a university in this city. He has given both time, energy and money and we now have a university with 150 students. . . . The University of Alberta had only 39 students to start with. This university will do great things for our city, by attracting population and counteracting that rush after material things that is apt to absorb us.³⁹

³⁹C.H., Saturday, April 12, 1913, p. 12.

Such arguments were neither original nor new but they were in keeping with the prevailing mood of frustration among many in Calgary. The Conservative platform said nothing about a Calgary university, but it did speak of the need for a 'comprehensive educational policy' and so could appeal to everyone. The Sifton government was returned by a large majority.⁴⁰

Thus, the first year of actual operation was a stormy one for the Calgary College but the institution survived intact. It was announced that the closing exercises would be held in First Baptist Church, May 5, 1913, when the address would be given by Dr. R. A. Falconer, President of the University of Toronto. Falconer stated that he had no wish to give advice regarding the delicate relations existing with Edmonton, and, while commending the Calgary people for the enthusiasm they had shown, said:

But you must have the greatest educational facilities not governed by sectional desires but by a sense of unity, so that the whole province may be developed as it ought to be. I strongly hope that the province will be unified. In the province from which I come we have had too much division.
 . . .⁴¹

This was exactly the philosophy Tory had been enunciating for years. Falconer came by his views independently. There is no indication that the meaning of Falconer's words was grasped fully. The Albertan, for example, found it unfortunate that Falconer had the impression

⁴⁰See Appendix II for the election results. Blow was elected.

⁴¹Cited in C.A., Tuesday, May 6, 1913, p. 1. These were prophetic words since he was to head a commission in 1915 appointed to investigate the university situation in Alberta. For a statement of Falconer's views see Chapter II, footnote 61.

that there existed any friction between the universities of Edmonton and Calgary, whereas in actual fact there was complete harmony!⁴² It was emphasized that Calgary University was, first of all, a university for Calgary--an attitude not likely to win for it support outside the city and one which contradicted the oft used argument that it was to serve the needs of southern Alberta. It remained to be seen however whether the role to be played by the Calgary institution could be fulfilled by its remaining an independent, self-sufficient entity.

The possibility that some arrangement might be worked out so as to accommodate Calgary was voiced by Chancellor Stuart of the University of Alberta who, at the third annual convocation of the University of Alberta referred frankly to the division existing between Edmonton and Calgary on the university question. He emphasized that if there was to be a provincial university it required province-wide support and that in all likelihood most people were not really concerned over the university site. He was quite correct. Being a Calgarian however he felt that he understood Calgary's attitude and its indifference to the provincial institution. He believed it possible to work out some scheme by which educational unity could be maintained while at the same time avoiding a system of affiliated colleges. Stuart's views were personal

⁴²C.A., Thursday, May 8, 1913, p. 3. To talk of the existence of harmony and the absence of friction was to ignore the tempestuous history of Calgary College since its inception.

but obviously he had missed the point of contention. Unfortunately he had no concrete suggestions to make. He seems to have conceived of a university in the medieval sense as being a group of teachers and students unrestricted by physical encumbrances such as buildings. Stuart's motives were not questioned but his thinking was fuzzy and his ideas made little impact upon Calgary where there was still the feeling that someday, somehow the Calgary University would be larger and more important than the provincial one. The underlying fear was that any scheme such as Stuart's would lead to Calgary College becoming a mere appendage of the University of Alberta. Bishop Pinkham pointed out that Calgary did not like to see the provincial university going to Edmonton and could not "readily forget the narrow prejudice which has twice refused to give the Calgary college university powers."⁴³ Blow too was opposed to any such scheme because he felt that ultimately Calgary would get degree-conferring power and because he felt that centralization in education would do nothing to enhance academic standards.⁴⁴

⁴³Cited in C.H., Saturday, May 17, 1913, p. 1.

William Cyprian Pinkham (1884-1928)--Superintendent of Protestant Education in Manitoba 1871-1873; Bishop of Saskatchewan 1887; Bishop of Calgary 1888-1928; active in founding Pinkham College, a preparatory boys' school.

⁴⁴C.H., Thursday, May 22, 1913, p. 33. These remarks are from the third of four letters Blow submitted to the newspapers and addressed to those opposed to a Calgary university. They deal with the university situation in Alberta generally and reiterate all the well-known reasons why Calgary was entitled to a university. In the fourth letter published May 28, 1913, p. 27, Blow stated that "the legislature in incorporating the Calgary university and granting it permission to give instruction in the arts and sciences had confidence in the men behind the institution. By refusing to give the

It appeared that an impasse had been reached. Calgary sought degree-conferring powers and the Legislature had refused. Chancellor Stuart spoke of the indifference shown by Calgary towards the University of Alberta while Calgary saw the real problem as being the indifference, even hostility, of the provincial authorities towards a university of some kind in Calgary. Stuart sought a solution in some undefined kind of affiliation without transforming the University of Alberta into a purely degree-conferring institution, while in Calgary the idea of the University of Alberta's being such a degree-conferring institution had some support. It appeared certain that whatever compromise might be suggested it would be rejected by Calgary if it did not grant degree-conferring powers to the Calgary institution--and rejected by others if it did. It was suggested as an alternative that if the Calgary University were not to be a part of the provincial university then perhaps "it should become a municipal institution and part of the educational system of the city."⁴⁵ Such a move, it was argued, would give a university a better standing, ensure a more definite policy in higher education, make the institution seem more worthy of citizen support, and, supposedly, force the Legislature to grant university status. In any case

institution degree-conferring powers, the legislature stopped short of what we could have reasonably expected." This was typically Blow--to misconstrue things in the first place and then to claim as reasonable expectations that the government never had any intention of granting.

Blow's letters outline the situation that existed but offer no answers to the problem.

⁴⁵C.A., Wednesday, May 21, 1913, p. 3.

whatever its merits the idea held little appeal. Strangely enough its feasibility was not questioned.

It had been announced the previous autumn that building operations would begin the spring of 1913 but by May nothing had been done and very little was being said. There was some talk of building a dormitory to house some two hundred students with part of the building, at the outset, being used for classes. The hope was that this could be constructed during the summer months and be ready for use in the autumn. Everything of course depended upon money and the building committee did not feel that it had adequate funds. There was some mention of the building being started in the hopes that enough money would be contributed to allow for its completion. However, nothing was done which was strange in view of the claimed endowment. Likewise, nothing had been done about appointing a principal and the Calgary College Board of Governors had decided that nothing was going to be done in this regard until such a step were warranted.⁴⁶

⁴⁶In conjunction with the building plans it had been announced in the C.A., Tuesday, March 11, 1913, p. 7, that a Benedictine College costing \$100,000 with accommodation for sixty students was going to be started in the spring of 1913 on twenty acres near the university site. Provision was to be made for expansion so that eventually it could look after several hundred students. All the professors were to be Oxford graduates and it was the intention to affiliate the college with the University of Calgary. This scheme never materialized.

It appears that the English Benedictines at Ampleforth, England, were invited by the first Bishop of Calgary, McNally, to come to Calgary and establish a college along the lines of their Ampleforth institution. So that they could get some idea of the cost they were given the plans of Bishop Pinkham College. They purchased a site, 10-12 acres, in 1913 in the present Knob Hill

With the publication of the report of the Commission on Technical Education some thought they saw a possible solution to Calgary's higher educational problems. It was recommended that some \$30,000,000 be spent upon technical education in Canada, at the rate of \$3,000,000 per year for ten years. Each province would receive a per capita share with Alberta's being some \$150,000. Almost immediately it was claimed that "that means a University of Technolgoy, which should be established in Calgary."⁴⁷ Of course it meant no such thing. However, Calgary based its claim upon the fact that it was the largest city in Alberta, the largest manufacturing city and claimed that such an idea fitted in well with what always had been the prevailing philosophy of the University of Calgary, although thus far it had done very little to develop its technical side. Blow welcomed the idea and indicated that such a grant was needed if the university was to carry on successfully. There was probably considerable truth in that. He envisioned a four track development of the university--an

district and proceeded to excavate and do some work on the foundation. Bishop McNally in 1914 then had a change of mind and he tried to get the Benedictines to drop their college plans and assume charge of St. Mary's High School. This they could not do, feeling that the Constitution of their Order would not allow it. The result was that the Benedictine scheme collapsed, they took their case to Rome and were awarded \$8,000 damages against Bishop McNally. See Letters from Rev. R. J. McGuiness, St. Mary's Church, Banff to Bishop Carroll, March 27 and 30, 1960, Bishop's Office, Roman Catholic Diocese of Calgary.

Prior to entering the priesthood Rev. McGuiness worked in a Calgary architect's office on the plans of Pinkham College and it was he who gave the plans to the Benedictines to study.

⁴⁷C.A., Tuesday, June 10, 1913, p. 3. This was the Commission set up by Ottawa in 1910 to investigate the possibility of establishing a system of federally subsidized technical education in Canada.

arts school which could be supported by the citizens of Calgary; a law school which was soon to be founded; a technical school which the government grant would make possible, and which would operate in conjunction with a science school; and domestic science, the provision for which would have to be made shortly. Given a development like this it is difficult to see how such a university could have avoided overlapping with that in Edmonton, although Calgary supporters long had claimed that such a situation need not arise. There was a favourable unofficial reaction in Edmonton to Calgary's claim to the \$150,000 grant.

This would be a very happy solution of the difficulty that has been created by the desire of the people of the southern city to establish an institution of higher learning within its boundaries. By thus specializing it could supplement the work being done by the provincial university, not draw away from the latter's strength, as would have been the case if the original plans had been adhered to.⁴⁸

This solution was not new, it had been proposed before, but with the prospects of a federal grant it became financially feasible. Calgary assumed that it would get grants probably from both the federal and the provincial governments. It was a strange situation: for years Blow had been insisting that a Calgary university could make its own way as a self-sufficient entity and now, before anything could be done, outside financial assistance was required. It was fully expected that Ottawa would act upon the recommendations but the

⁴⁸E.J., Wednesday, June 11, 1913, p. 4. There was no doubt however that approval was being given to the development of technical education in Calgary and it is unlikely that Blow's plan would have been favourably received.

Report first of all had to be adopted before any selection of a grant-receiving school could be made. As it happened there was no action taken until 1919 and the passing of the Technical Assistance Act which reduced the amount of money made available to \$10,000,000. It is by no means certain that Calgary would have received the grant; the federal government perhaps would have been more prone to assist an institution with a technical programme already underway.

As the time neared for the start of the second year of operation, the Calgary university encountered some unexpected difficulties. It was announced in late August that Dean E. E. Braithwaite had resigned.⁴⁹ At a meeting of the Board of Governors on September 20,

⁴⁹No reasons were made public for the resignation although quite likely a number of factors were involved. It is possible that Braithwaite came to Calgary under a false assumption in thinking that the College was in better financial shape than in fact it was. Perhaps too there were frustrations over a lack of permanent buildings and over a small student enrollment. Undoubtedly the general situation in Calgary and Alberta was a factor.

When he left Calgary he went to Unionville, Ontario, and applied for the position as head of the Western University at London. The authorities at London wrote to Falconer for information about Braithwaite and he in turn wrote to Braithwaite outlining the information he had provided. He said that "the situation in Calgary was an extremely difficult one, and that your withdrawal from Calgary should in no way tell against you in applying for another position." F.P. Letter from Falconer to Braithwaite, May 16, 1914.

At London a committee had been appointed to select a head and while it made several progress reports to the Board, Braithwaite's name does not appear until June 5, 1914, and the minute reads as follows: "The committee appointed to secure a head for the university reported that they nominated Dr. Braithwaite for the position. Mr. Murphy read a communication from him in which he agreed to accept the position. It was moved . . . that Professor Braithwaite be appointed to the position as head of the university at a salary of \$3,600.00. That he was asked to commence his duties 1 August, 1914, if possible. . . ." From a letter to N. L. McLeod from B. E. Smith, Secretary, via Mrs. DeSomogyi, Regional History Librarian, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, November 4, 1969.

1913, it was announced that Dr. A. H. MacDougall had been appointed Acting Dean; that Professor Eastman had been granted research leave until Christmas and that the Board had had no success in hiring an additional professor of classics.⁵⁰ Shortly before the Rev. A. MacWilliams had been appointed Registrar and Bursar. Once again the question of buildings arose and once again the Public Library agreed to give space for lectures but obviously this was a stop-gap solution. At a meeting of the building committee, September 20, 1913, it was decided to commence construction at once of a building of classrooms, which later could be converted into a dormitory, at a cost of \$150,000--a sum that could be handled easily. Whether it could be handled easily and whether any plans were available was doubtful, for no start ever was made. At the same time there was talk of yet another attempt to be made to get degree-conferring power but no final decision had been reached.

A more severe shock came from the city which indicated that, for the present at least, it was not going to contribute the \$150,000 to the university because the chief condition of payment had not been met. Thus far the university trustees had not satisfied the civic officials that they had on hand bona fide subscriptions for an additional \$150,000. A meeting had been held on September 23, 1913, between civic officials and representatives of the Board of Governors (Reilly, Bryan and Tregillus) and it was indicated that

⁵⁰C.A., Monday, September 22, 1913, p. 14. Eastman was replaced by W. N. Sage as a temporary appointment in history and English.

the Board was desirous of obtaining the city grant as quickly as possible so that building operations could commence, the agreement was that such money would be used solely for purposes of buildings and equipment. The city had made no effort to market the \$150,000 worth of debentures but had indicated that it would do so along with other securities worth some \$4,000,000. Then the plan was changed when the city decided against marketing any debentures during the remainder of the current year (1913). By this time the 'economic boom' was showing signs of slowing down and within the year the city was in serious financial difficulties. Therefore the earliest that the university could expect to receive the grant would be 1914. There is little doubt that the large university endowment was coming to be seen for what it was--largely a thing on paper. It is no wonder that a building programme which for months was about to begin still was in the talking stage.

In the Legislature on September 25, 1913, during the debate on the Speech from the Throne, it became apparent that another attempt was going to be made to amend the Calgary College Charter. Hillocks from Calgary stated that his city deserved fairer treatment in matters of higher education, a field, in Calgary at least, which was badly handicapped by the government's policy. He felt that the time was approaching rapidly when, given the growth in Alberta, not even two universities would be adequate. His solution to the problem was simple. "If it is the wish and policy of the government to keep higher education under state control, it can do it and still be fair with the south country. There is nothing to

hinder it from taking over the University of Calgary."⁵¹ It became clear that a fourth attempt would be made to get degree-conferring powers for the Calgary institution although it was felt, and correctly, that there was little reason to expect that it would be secured. There was nothing to indicate that there had been any change whatsoever in government policy. However at this juncture the government's attitude seemingly changed, although this proved to be nothing but a change in tactics, and it indicated a willingness to come to a settlement which would be satisfactory to all parties.⁵² The government indicated in the Legislature that it would appoint a commission from the Senates of the two universities to enquire into the entire university situation and report to the government. This offer was conditional upon Blow's withdrawing his bill--Bill No. 48--seeking degree-conferring powers. This Blow was reluctant to do until a draft of the proposed commission had been presented. This however was expected shortly in view of the conference held on October 9. It was difficult to predict what kind of a report would be brought down but

⁵¹C.H., Friday, September 26, 1913, p. 6. The government of course was not interested in any such scheme. It must have been obvious that this was a final attempt to save an institution which was in dire financial straits and was not likely to last for very much longer.

⁵²On October 9 a number of government officials (Sifton, Cross, Boyle and Mitchell) conferred with a Calgary delegation (Reilly, Walker, Allen, Tregillus and Bryan) regarding the Calgary University. The Calgary people came away assured that something would be done to satisfy the officials of the Calgary University with regard to degree-conferring powers.

it is considered here [Edmonton] that the most likely outcome will be a recommendation that the University of Alberta should become an examining body, with degree conferring powers, and that both Calgary University and the present University at Edmonton should become respectively Calgary College and Edmonton College each to be affiliated on the same basis with the University.⁵³

Calgary would have preferred to have obtained the status and powers of an independent university operating in close association with the University of Alberta. As there was little likelihood that this would be achieved, involving as it would a complete reversal of government policy, and, considering the apparent change in attitude on the part of the government, it was suggested that Calgary should not reject a reasonable compromise. The Albertan, which for long had been a supporter of a Calgary university, was prepared to concede "the superior worth of a provincial university. . . It is more efficient, broader and less likely than the privately controlled body to come under the influence of objectionable factions."⁵⁴ It is possible that many were coming to see the Blow scheme for what it was--a hollow scheme.

It was not until October 23, and then with reluctance, that Blow withdrew his bill. Before doing so however he reiterated the reasons why Calgary desired a university and emphasized the value of the endowment which he claimed stood at \$1,250,000. He declared that the Calgary University now had four endowed chairs, that the

⁵³An unofficial report from Edmonton printed in C.H., Friday, October 10, 1913, p. 1.

⁵⁴C.A., Tuesday, October 14, 1913, p. 3. This paper at least was prepared to recognize that outside of Calgary it was difficult, if not impossible, to convince people of the necessity of having two universities: Two universities no longer appear to be necessary and the paper appears to have reversed its policy.

city had given \$150,000 to erect a building (which was not true), and that plans had been approved and contracts let for a \$200,000 building to be erected in the spring. Following the bill's withdrawal it was moved by Boyle and seconded by Mitchell that a government appointed commission of not fewer than three nor more than seven members investigate the claims of the Calgary bill and report to the government prior to the next session when it was hoped that a final policy decision regarding the Calgary University could be made.

Blow had no alternative but to withdraw his bill. It remained to be seen whether the government was sincere in its intentions or whether, as some surmised, it was simply looking for a convenient way of placing the responsibility for refusing Calgary's request upon shoulders other than its own.

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

With the withdrawal of Blow's bill it remained to be seen who would be appointed to the commission. For the moment Boyle would give no indication as to who was likely to be considered and would say nothing other than that those appointed would be personages in which the public would have the utmost confidence. It would be a number of months before the appointments were made.

In Calgary meanwhile the university operated as usual but it was most anxious to get the civic grant and to begin building. Since the money had been voted it was felt that it was incumbent upon the city to honour its promise, providing of course that the stipulated conditions were met. The first problem was the disposal of the debentures and this proved to be far more difficult than expected. The Bank of Montreal indicated that it thought it could place the issue if they were sold below par value. The Finance Committee of City Council was prepared to accept the recommendation, subject of course to the approval of the university Board of Governors.¹ The Board of Governors and the Senate met January 31 to discuss the

¹Calgary City Council Minutes, January 22, 1914. The university would have to meet the by-law conditions which meant providing an equal sum of \$150,000; giving the city a first mortgage of the site property, such mortgage not to be discharged until the building was completed; and to have one hundred regular students enrolled.

With respect to the sale of the debentures it appears that the city recently had marketed an issue bearing interest at 5 per cent. The local manager of the Bank of Montreal, A. M. Peters, was in contact with the London branch which indicated that he thought the debentures could be placed at 5 per cent whereas the by-law set the interest rate at 4 1/2 per cent.

question. Apparently the debentures, bearing interest at 4 1/2 per cent, could be sold for a \$13,000 sacrifice. It was felt however that this was too much of a loss and besides the citizens had voted the institution a full \$150,000. The feeling was that the debentures should be held for the time being and the city, at the next session of the Legislature, should attempt to have the interest rate increased to 5 per cent.² In an interview given the Herald Blow expressed confidence that the city would succeed in having the interest rate raised to 5 per cent. There remained however the question as to who was going to pay the interest from the time the issue was voted in 1911 to the present. Blow felt that it was only fair that this responsibility be assumed by the city.³ If the University of Calgary

²C.A., Monday, February 2, 1914, p. 1. The announcement was made also that J. H. Woods had been appointed to the university Board of Governors to replace R. B. Bennett who had resigned.

³C.H., Tuesday, February 3, 1914, p. 1. One would have thought that the question of interest would not arise until the debentures actually were sold! While not saying as much for the moment Blow obviously was trying to inveigle more money out of the city. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

The university authorities indicated that they were adopting the report of a special committee consisting of Messrs. Blow, Kidner, Davidson, Bryan and MacDougall which had been set up to outline the essential needs of the university. Their recommendations included degree-conferring powers as being of paramount importance; Dominion and provincial grants for certain areas of work (i.e., technical education); the establishment of a Provincial Board of Education to regulate the various institutions of higher learning; civic assistance through grants toward buildings and equipment in return for which the city was to have representation on the Board of Governors; the establishment of faculties of arts, science, law, agriculture, education and the provision for evening, part-time and extra-mural courses; and the hiring of an organization secretary to devote his full time to university business and generally to give advice and direction when such was sought.

Certainly the original concept had vanished. Gone was the

was to continue in existence it would do so as a 'university of service' offering something for everybody. It would exist as a municipal institution and, quite properly therefore, it expected municipal support. The fact that this concept was but a partial reflection of the type of institution envisioned in the special report which was adopted was of no consequence (see footnote 3). It is interesting to note the change in attitude regarding federal support for universities. Alberta received from Ottawa \$7,064,660 in 1966-1967 and \$17,501,000 in 1967-1968 in university assistance whereas Blow et al. in 1914 would have considered themselves fortunate to have received \$150,000. If any support were to be had from the provincial and/or federal authorities it would be for technical education and it was predicted that "without doubt the province will establish its school of technology in Calgary . . . It could not place a school of technology anywhere else."⁴ It was incredible to think that such an institution, if built at all, had to be placed in Calgary, although Calgary

idea of financial self-sufficiency and gone also was the notion that a Calgary university would not overlap with the University of Alberta. What Tory, Buchanan and others long had been predicting now was being accepted as official policy.

⁴C.A., Thursday, February 5, 1914, p. 3. The 'service' aspect was stressed heavily and it was true, as Tory observed, that most of the students were attending on a part-time basis. For example there was a wide range of courses offered at 4:30 p.m. and later and one was free to write the examinations for degree credit or not as one wished. All evening lectures were free; the fee for the others being \$3.00 per course. At the request of the Trades and Labor Council a series of lectures was arranged on economics and related subjects, beginning February 25, 1914.

For federal assistance to post secondary education see Education Support Branch, Department of the Secretary of State - Federal Expenditures on Post-Secondary Education 1966-1967, 1967-1968, p. 23.

reasonably could expect to be a strong contender for it. No thought seems to have been given to the possibility of getting a technical school which was not, nor a part of, a university.

Farthest from the minds of many of the Calgary university supporters in 1914 was the possibility that their entire scheme might collapse. It was time to think in terms of expansion and building. The urgency in building probably was dictated in part by the desire to present the government commissioners with a permanent institution de facto. There was even revived the idea of merging the University of Calgary with Western Canada College, an idea put forward some years earlier but did not at that time appeal to the College (Western) trustees. Blow felt that such a plan now would hold greater appeal; each institution would add strength to the other. The fact that the College had land, some said worth \$300,000, and permanent buildings was not lost upon the university authorities for with such a merger they would be in a better position to coerce the city to provide the promised \$150,000. The merger never materialized, probably because it would have been a very one-sided arrangement.

Of more immediate concern was the launching of the building programme; spring was still being touted as the construction season. Even by February however there still was indecision as to the kind of building desired; apparently the earlier proposal of a combined dormitory-classroom block was not completely acceptable. This situation probably accounts for Tregillus' writing to the Minister of Public Works indicating that, as the Calgary authorities wished to begin building operations as soon as possible, the building committee

would appreciate having made available to them the University of Alberta plans.⁵ The Calgary building committee met on March 13, 1914, and reached agreement upon plans for the first building, these being subject to the approval of the Board of Governors. The building was to be a general purpose structure to be used mainly for teaching, laboratory work and administration offices. If necessary a part of it could be converted into a dormitory. The estimated cost was \$125,000 with tenders scheduled to be called in four or five weeks following tentative Board approval. Such approval was given March 18, 1914, and the architects were asked to submit detailed plans. Apparently these final plans were not submitted to the Board of Governors until May 20, 1914 when, following their approval, it was expected that ground would be broken within the next thirty days.⁶

With the building problem out of the way, at least for the time being, a new difficulty had to be faced. The city was having second thoughts as to the wisdom of its becoming in any way financially

⁵T.P. Letter from Tregillus to the Hon. C. Stewart, Minister of Public Works, February 23, 1914. Tregillus was informed that all matters pertaining to such plans were in the hands of the Board of Governors of the University and that undoubtedly he would hear from Dr. Tory with respect to the matter. Stewart forwarded the Tregillus letter to Tory. T.P. Letter from the Hon. C. Stewart to Tory, February 27, 1914. There is nothing to indicate that such plans ever were made available.

⁶It was on March 28, 1914, that Calgary College registered a caveat against Tregillus' half section adjacent to the university site. Tregillus had used this land as security for money borrowed and two caveats were registered against it. One caveat was registered by Calgary College (Tregillus had borrowed \$20,000 from the Lord Strathcona gift to invest in his new clay products factory) and the other by the Quebec Bank. The bank foreclosed on the half section in 1916 after the failure of the College. See also the Falconer Report, Appendix V.

involved in the university project. The realization was beginning to dawn that the total cost would be far in excess of the by-law commitment. The city, therefore, was anxious to ensure that whatever investment might be made would be to the future benefit of the city. In Mayor Sinnott's view the wisest move was to amalgamate the three principal educational institutions in Calgary--the Calgary College, Mount Royal College, and Western Canada College--and so form one college specializing in technology and science. Since it appeared that the city was likely to bear a very heavy financial burden he felt that such an institution as proposed would best serve the future needs of Calgary and southern Alberta. At the same time it would remove any possibility of friction with the University of Alberta. He said:

To expect the city to support the new Calgary university to the extent that will be necessary is expecting entirely too much. We are called on now to grant \$150,000 but this does not include the extension of public utilities to the proposed site which will mean a total of \$200,000 or \$300,000.⁷

He saw, as did many others, including Blow, that an emphasis upon technology likely would, if anything would, bring government financial assistance. However, unlike Blow Sinnott was not too concerned about the question of degree-conferring power, a question still uppermost in the minds of the university authorities. He realized also what so many others had overlooked, viz. that one important factor in securing financial support for a private university was

⁷C.H., Wednesday, April 1, 1914, p. 1.

the existence of a large alumni and this was completely lacking.

Sinnott's views certainly were worthy of careful consideration. There was no disputing the value of technological and scientific education or the fact that a concentration upon these areas might bring financial assistance. It was claimed that from its inception the Calgary university movement had emphasized these aspects of education --at least it could be said that they had received lip service. The opposition to the Mayor's stand was aimed at his seemingly being unconcerned about whether the proposed institution would be, in fact, a university or simply a school of technology. Owing to the fact that Calgary claimed to have a university already in being, with a large enrollment and sizable endowment, it was easy to equate this with the idea that Calgary had to have a university--nothing less could be of any worth. As long as it could be called a 'university' then the teaching of technology and science was of great import, but remove the 'university' label and they became correspondingly less so. In this instance even the Albertan seemed to have lost its relative moderation and chastised Sinnott for being concerned solely with the cost of support which really was paltry when compared to the commercial advantages to be realized.⁸ At this juncture F. H. MacDougall, the Acting Dean, submitted the University Report for 1913-1914 and this supported the university concept for Calgary.⁹

⁸C.A., Thursday, April 2, 1914, p. 3.

⁹The Report gives the attendance figures for the two years of operation: 1912-1913 a total enrollment of 134 but not broken down into full-time and part-time students; 1913-1914 a total enrollment

It was quite apparent at the closing exercises marking the end of the second year of operation held in May, 1914, that all the old arguments supporting a university for Calgary were as much alive as ever. Bishop Pinkham spoke of the injustice that had been done to Calgary and suggested that petitions be circulated throughout both the city and the province supporting the request for degree-conferring powers and asking that the matter be investigated and reported upon. Presumably this is what the government commission would do once it got underway. Scott, Chairman of the University Senate, stressed that without degree-conferring power the University of Calgary was paralyzed. Blow, Chairman of the Board of Governors, in speaking of finance, indicated that, in the four years since the initial announcement was made regarding the founding of a Calgary university, citizens had contributed some \$44,000. He expressed confidence that the necessary funds for continued operation would be found--from where he did not say.¹⁰ It never was adequately explained how Blow arrived at an endowment figure of \$1,250,000 of which some \$500,000 was cash, when

of 217 of which 199 were not taking a full course of lectures. This certainly substantiated Tory's remarks about the small number of bona fide students in attendance. There was no indication given as to how many of the 199 were taking courses for degree credit. The Report laid emphasis upon the 'service' aspect of the university and how it was of great benefit to the city from a business point of view. The implication was that it was worthy of municipal support and opposed to Sinnott's stand. For a comparison with the University of Alberta enrollment see Appendix IV.

¹⁰For an account of the closing exercises see the C.A., Tuesday, May 12, 1914, pp. 1 and 6; and C.H., Tuesday, May 12, 1914, p. 8.

contributions amounted to some \$44,000! Also, by June the university was trying desperately to get the civic grant for upon this, and in all likelihood upon this alone, hinged the proposed building project. The initial building was to have cost \$500,000 or more when completed but by this time it was being conceived in more modest terms.

In June negotiations again were underway with Council. On June 5 the Finance Committee of City Council met with a delegation from the university regarding by-law #1170. The city officials were told that the Board of Governors was anxious to get the \$150,000 so that they could commence building. Undoubtedly their extreme anxiety was caused by the impending committee being set up by Boyle to investigate the university question in Calgary. There was agreement reached between the parties with the city agreeing to ask for offers for the purchase of the university debentures, offers which, hopefully, would be in the hands of the Finance Committee by Friday, June 19. The city apparently was prepared to overlook the stipulation requiring the College to provide a matching grant of \$150,000. Also discussed was the question of the drawing up and the dating of the mortgage to be given to the city. This was referred to the City Solicitor and he and the Finance Committee were to discuss the matter with C. B. Reilly, the solicitor for the Board of Governors.¹¹ As

¹¹Calgary City Council Minutes, June 5, 1914. The point at issue regarding the mortgage was whether it should be dated 1911, when the by-law was passed, or from the date the debentures were sold and the money actually made available to the university. The dating of the mortgage was not settled until 1915.

A report in C.A., Saturday, June 6, 1914, p. 14, stated that by-law #1170 granted to the College Board \$150,000 but that in lieu

for the sale of the debentures the Finance Committee had recommended that an attempt be made to sell them at 4 1/2 per cent but this proved to be impossible and by July the Board of Governors, desperate for money, agreed to the raising of the interest rate to 5 per cent so as to make them more attractive. The College earlier had taken the stand that, should the debentures have to be sold at a discount, it was expected that the city would make up any deficiency. Reilly informed the Finance Committee that regarding the question of the price to be asked for the debentures the Board of Governors preferred to leave that matter in the hands of the City Council. The city agreed to a raising of the interest rate from 4 1/2 per cent to 5 per cent and instructed the City Solicitor to arrange at the next session of the Legislature to have the necessary amendment made to By-law #1170. It was stipulated that as soon as the amendment had been secured and the issue sold the net proceeds of the sale would be turned over to the Calgary College Board "upon their executing the necessary mortgage in favor of the city in respect of their property."¹² It is not clear how much the city expected to realize

of the grant the College undertook to give the city a mortgage. This is absolutely false for the by-law stipulated as one condition that "the College would execute in favor of the City a first mortgage on the site property for \$150,000."

¹²Calgary City Council Minutes, July 10, 1914. There was no mortgage taken out by the City until January 20, 1915. See: Calgary Land Titles Records.

Regarding the raising of the interest rate from 4 1/2 per cent to 5 per cent the necessary city legislation to be submitted to the Legislature for approval was drafted in September. See: Calgary City Council Minutes, September 23 and 28, 1914.

from the sale of the debentures but by July, 1914, it was clear that they would not get \$150,000. Should the interest rate be raised to 5 per cent the debentures would have to be discounted; the Bank of Montreal would charge a fee for placing them and very likely the issue would have to be sold in installments. The Board of Governors was talking of erecting a \$125,000 building and it is possible that was the maximum amount they really hoped to realize from the sale. Calgary was suffering from an economic crisis, the 'boom' was over and the bottom had fallen out of the real estate market. Also by the summer of 1914 the outbreak of war appeared imminent. As a result city debentures were not moving and an estimated \$1,200,000 worth of city work was being held up. Sinnott felt that owing to the pressing financial conditions the Board of Governors would have to be told that they could not proceed with their building plans. It appears that the Board, having taken for granted that the city grant would be forthcoming had awarded building contracts worth some \$100,000 without the city debentures having been issued.¹³ However "owing to the financial depression and the outbreak of the world war the university was obliged to suspend the building operations

¹³See the account in C.H., Saturday, August 1, 1914, p. 3. Sinnott again registered his opposition to the entire university project and advocated a scientific and technical school, the cost of construction of which would be offset by a government grant.

A few months earlier in October, 1913, Blow indicated in the Legislature that building contracts for \$200,000 had been let at that time. This, it appears, was a deliberate distortion of the truth.

which were planned for this summer."¹⁴ The financial condition of the city was such that five banks (Commerce, Montreal, Royal, Dominion, and Molsons) came to its aid and each loaned the city \$100,000 to carry it through the crisis. The money was loaned against the future sale of city debentures.¹⁵

The financial consultations between the city and the university continued throughout the autumn. In December the Finance Committee met with a delegation from the university (Reilly, MacDougall, Blow, and Bryan) and a payment from the city of \$10,000 was requested "on account of interest due under Bylaw 1170 . . . "¹⁶ The Legislature had approved the raising of the interest rate to 5 per cent and the position of the university was that "they are entitled to interest at the rate of 5 per cent on and from the original date of passing in view of the fact that debentures will be dated from 1911."¹⁷ The rationale for such a position seems to have been that had the debentures been sold in 1911 the university would have been enjoying the use of the money and the city would have been paying the interest, since the grant was to have been entered free

¹⁴C.H., Saturday, August 29, 1914, p. 5. The announcement was made that the third session of the University of Calgary would begin September 29. For regular students the fee would be \$10.00 per term plus an athletic fee of \$2.00. The fees certainly were low considering that student fees ostensibly were to cover almost the total cost of the university operation!

¹⁵C.H., Friday, September 11, 1914, p. 1.

¹⁶Calgary City Council Minutes, December 4, 1914.

¹⁷Ibid.

for the first five years. As the debentures had not been sold the city was paying no interest. It was the total amount of this interest which would have been paid that the university now claimed and at the new rate of 5 per cent. What is most astonishing is that the Finance Committee concurred with this view, differing only on the amount due. The city officials felt that at least \$3,000 was due the university and appointed a sub-committee consisting of the Mayor and City Solicitor to confer with the university officials with a view to drafting proposals to be submitted to the Finance Committee.

In December the special sub-committee met with C. B. Reilly and an agreement was reached regarding the proposals to be submitted to the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee agreed with the recommendations and reported to council. It was recommended

that the City purchase out of its Sinking Fund \$10,000 portion of the said debenture issue at par value and give a note of _____ months in payment to be redeemed out of the sinking fund, and that the balance of the said debenture issue to be purchased at par out of the sinking fund at a date to be fixed by Council, said debentures to bear interest at five percentum per annum, and the College to give the City all security required under By-Law No. 1170.¹⁸

The city therefore agreed to purchase its own debentures, in stages, while the university in turn was to withdraw any claim to the proposed accrued interest. Clearly no actual money changed hands, rather a note for \$10,000 drawn on the sinking fund would be given to the university for a length of time yet to be determined. Likewise there was no time stated as to when the remainder of the debentures

¹⁸Calgary City Council Minutes, December 18, 1914.

would be issued nor was it determined in how many installments they would be issued. It is difficult to understand the city's attitude. To tamper with the sinking fund, a fund supposedly set aside for debt retirement, was to call into question the integrity of the civic government. Also the university had given no proof, and neither could they, that they could provide the stipulated matching grant of \$150,000. Although by this time the hearings of the government appointed commission were over there currently was a great deal of talk about technical education and it is possible that in taking such action vis-a-vis the university the city was prepared to go to great lengths to show the university as being a well-rooted, permanent institution in the hopes that it (the city) could capitalize upon any recommendations that might be made regarding technical education. In any case the financial issue rested at this point until the New Year.

While the university and the city had been trying to reach a financial understanding so that the university could get underway with its first building the government had been busy setting up its education commission. By May, 1914, the government had decided upon the commissioners desired; they were: R. Falconer (Toronto), A. S. MacKenzie (Dalhousie), and W. Murray (Saskatchewan)--three university presidents and three known to Tory. There is nothing to indicate that these three were suggested by Tory but it is not unlikely that he had been consulted. By May 18 all three had agreed to participate, with Falconer having been asked to be chairman. The initial plan was to have held the hearings early in the autumn of 1914, Falconer having indicated that he expected to be able to be in Edmonton by

September 3.¹⁹ Tory was kept well informed of the arrangements being made and was invited to submit any information he thought pertinent.²⁰ The matter was settled by June when Falconer formally received the Commission for Calgary College and confirmed an expected arrival in Edmonton during the first week of September.²¹

Shortly afterwards however it became apparent that there was little likelihood of the hearings being held in September. Falconer had gone to England for the summer, and, owing to the outbreak of war, did not arrive back in Toronto as early as expected. Boyle had indicated earlier that he was desirous of the hearings being held and the report submitted if possible by the opening of the Legislature on October 7. However this now was impossible. Falconer on the other hand desired the latest possible date as he found himself faced with many problems as a result of the war.²² Boyle, accepting the

¹⁹F.P. Letter from Falconer to Murray, May 18, 1914. Falconer was rather reluctant to serve on the commission, but, as he told Murray: "Had you not been on it I do not think I should have acted, but our Governors are of the opinion that it is a service which we ought to render to the new Province if we can." Likewise MacKenzie also was reluctant but he agreed to serve if the other two so agreed. See: F.P. Telegram from MacKenzie to Falconer, May, 1914 (no date).

²⁰See, for example: Calgary College File, University of Alberta Archives, Letter from D. S. MacKenzie, Deputy Minister of Education, to Tory, May 29, 1914.

²¹F.P. Letter from Falconer to the Hon. J. R. Boyle, Minister of Education, June 13, 1914. In a letter of June 8, Falconer indicated to Murray that he was going to rely heavily upon his judgment because he (Murray) was so close and had experienced a similar situation.

²²F.P. Letter from Falconer to Boyle, September 8, 1914. Falconer wrote also to MacKenzie asking his advice as to a substitute date and indicated that perhaps the war had made the issue less urgent than it had seemed in the spring. F.P. Letter to MacKenzie, September 8, 1914.

fact that it would be impossible now to have any report ready for the October Legislature session, was willing that it be ready to present to the House in 1915. In commenting upon Boyle's attitude, Falconer stated: "He seems to feel that he has a sufficient explanation to present to the House in the fact that the Commission could not be held owing to the outbreak of the war. This means that we may take our time and would it not be well to defer our meeting until the spring."²³ MacKenzie welcomed the prospect of a delay but not so Murray. Murray thought that the matter should be dealt with as soon as possible feeling that the report would be published as soon as it was ready, before being adopted by the Legislature and that this would ease the situation in Alberta.²⁴ Murray stressed the urgency of the situation in a letter to Falconer:

I do not know at present what Calgary's wishes in the matter are but I know that some time ago they were most anxious to get a decision, so that they could form satisfactory plans. The month of May next year would, undoubtedly, be too late for them to form satisfactory

²³F.P. Letter from Falconer to Murray, September 19, 1914. On the same day he wrote an almost identical letter to MacKenzie. It certainly was not Boyle's intent to convey the impression that by agreeing to a delay the hearings would be postponed until the spring of 1915.

²⁴Regarding MacKenzie's attitude see: F.P. Letter from MacKenzie to Falconer, September 22, 1914. Murray's views are referred to in F.P., Letter from Falconer to MacKenzie, September 29, 1914. Murray had written to Tory and indicated that he favoured a meeting at the earliest possible time. See: T.P., Letter from Murray to Tory, September 25, 1914. To this Tory replied that he was "very much disappointed that the Commission is not meeting before the Legislature meets." He agreed that the report should be made public at the earliest possible moment. T.P., Letter from Tory to Murray, September 30, 1914.

plans for 1915-16; but it is possible that the present financial difficulties, which are particularly acute in Calgary, may prevent any change in the programme. I think, if I were in their place, I would like to know some time about the beginning of the new year what the probabilities were. If they decide to close the College, it will be exceedingly difficult for the staff to secure positions elsewhere late in the year. . . .²⁵

In Western Canada sentiment definitely favoured the earliest possible meeting and largely as a result of the pressure applied by Murray and Tory it was agreed to meet in Edmonton November 19. Falconer indicated that he was writing to Boyle to check the suitability of the date.²⁶ Boyle indicated that the date was satisfactory.²⁷ In Calgary the College opened for its third and what was destined to be its final year. As had become the usual practice most lectures were scheduled for the late afternoon and the 'service' aspect was heavily stressed. People were urged to attend in large numbers and to take advantage of the opportunity for mental improvement. "The quicker it can be demonstrated that the local university

²⁵F.P. Letter to Falconer from Murray, October 5, 1914. This opinion was relayed by Falconer to MacKenzie along with the suggestion that perhaps they could meet in November. F.P. Letter from Falconer to MacKenzie, October 10, 1914. MacKenzie would have preferred to spring of 1915 but agreed to the middle of November if absolutely necessary. F.P. Telegram from MacKenzie to Falconer, October 13, 1914.

²⁶F.P. Letter from Falconer to MacKenzie, October 21, 1914. See also: F.P. Letter from Falconer to Murray, October 14, 1914, asking if he would be agreeable to November 19 and Murray's telegraphed reply of acceptance, October 19, 1914. Also a telegraphed reply of reluctant acceptance from MacKenzie, October 20, 1914. Falconer's letter to Boyle was sent October 21, 1914.

²⁷F.P. Letter from Boyle to Falconer, October 30, 1914. On November 4, 1914, Falconer notified both Murray and MacKenzie that the date was officially settled.

movement is filling a felt want in the community, the quicker will the desired recognition come from the powers at Edmonton."²⁸ There was certainly no indication of any favourable recognition coming from Tory and the University of Alberta. F. H. MacDougall, the Acting Dean, wrote to Tory on September 28, 1919, enquiring on behalf of several students whether the University of Alberta would grant credit for work done at the University of Calgary. Tory replied that he had communicated already with several students in this matter and continued: "It is impossible for us to recognize the work done in Calgary College as equivalent to our own for the simple reason that it is not equivalent." He pointed out that he had no Calgary course of study, knew nothing of the course details, and that if Calgary College desired such recognition it should be made through a formal application and "a conference held with respect to the work being done."²⁹ Calgary University would never agree to any such conference unless it were guaranteed not simply recognition but equality. To this Tory would never agree and Calgary would take nothing less. Tory undoubtedly was correct in viewing the work done at Calgary as being generally inferior in quality to that done at Edmonton. As

²⁸C.H., Monday, October 5, 1914, p. 6.

²⁹T.P. Letter from Tory to MacDougall, September 28, 1914. As an example of the student letters Tory received, one was from a Wm. T. Knights, September 18, 1914, asking whether, if he did a year's work in Calgary, he could transfer to the University of Alberta. Tory replied: "I have your letter to September 18th. I am very sorry we have a regulation against 'ExtraMural' work and cannot recognize the work done by Calgary College as in any way equivalent to our own." T.P. Letter from Tory to Knights, September 21, 1914.

indicated in the Calgary University calendar the institution had on staff some extremely capable men such as Eastman and Braithwaite but lacking as it did permanent quarters, adequate equipment, and a sizable full-time student body Tory's view of the calibre of work done was justified.³⁰

By November interest obviously was centred upon the government commission. It is strange that there was no unfavourable reaction in Calgary to the appointment of Messrs. Falconer, Murray and MacKenzie, for certainly the views of Falconer were not unknown, insight into them having been given in 1913 when he spoke at the closing exercises marking the end of the first year of operations. Certainly it is difficult not to see the hand of Tory behind these appointments and had the choice of commissioners been Tory's one wonders if he would have chosen any differently. Also the type of commission established left room for criticism in view of the fact that in 1913 Blow agreed to withdraw his bill from the Legislature on the understanding that the government would set up a committee composed of members of the two university Senates. Perhaps, as has been suggested, the government's attitude was a reflection of the fact that

³⁰See for example the Preliminary Announcement of the University of Calgary, July, 1912, University of Calgary Library. Nothing is mentioned regarding courses but some information is given about the staff, the history of the institution and the entrance requirements. Also attached is a list of the donors and their respective contributions.

Nothing was discovered which dealt specifically with the courses offered, but the information given in the Tregillus-Thompson Greater Calgary Directory, Vol. I, 1913, G.F.A., indicates that there was but one faculty--Arts--and that, apart from Law, the staff was competent in the fields of chemistry, mathematics, physics, classics, modern languages, and economics. Braithwaite used to lecture on the Bible. Similar information appeared periodically in the local papers.

by the end of 1913 the railroad issue was settled, the political climate had returned to normal and Sifton in every respect felt secure.³¹ The commissioners arrived in Edmonton November 18 and left for Calgary the evening of November 19, after getting all the necessary educational data from D. S. MacKenzie, Deputy Minister of Education. The hearings in Calgary lasted for two days, beginning Friday, November 20. They were open to the public and anyone wishing to present any evidence was given an opportunity to appear. No counsel was allowed; witnesses simply were introduced by C. B. Reilly.

The principal views of course were those expressed by people intimately associated with the Calgary university scheme. Dr. MacRae expressed the opinion that Calgary College had been established with the expectation that ultimately degree-granting power would be granted to it. If this were not to be the case he felt that Calgary would be entitled to at least one university faculty. He agreed with some of the criticism that had been levelled against the Calgary university scheme by its various critics.

I doubt if two fully-fledged universities can be made to go in this province at the present stage in its development. But if we cannot have degree-conferring powers, then our students should be able to do work leading to a degree from the provincial university. I think we should have one faculty here. There is a strong demand for cultural education in Calgary. Calgary is not acting in a spirit of pure obstinacy. There has been a strong interest shown in the college apart from undergraduate work. I should say that the faculty that would be most acceptable, if we are to

³¹L. G. Thomas, op. cit., p. 152.

have but one, would be that of applied science. The fact that the C.P.R. shops are located here, and are likely to be the largest in the west, will mean a great demand for trained men in applied science. . . .³²

MacRae believed that the time would come when two universities would be needed in the Province and felt that the second one certainly would be at Calgary, the natural leader of the southern part of the province. For the time being he advocated the finding of a compromise so as to avoid the entire issue's becoming simply one of politics.

MacRae's attitude was a very reasonable one. It is questionable if his suggestions were practicable. By applied science he seems to have meant technical training and, although many in Calgary were loathe to admit it, such training could be given just as well in an institution which was in no way a university. As for having a university faculty in Calgary the general idea ran counter to Tory's view which held that any such decentralization was both inefficient and expensive.

Dr. Scott followed and outlined to the Commission the organization of the secondary schools in Calgary and the number of students enrolled. The enrollment was 550 with approximately 750 or 800 expected the next year. He estimated that fully 50 per cent of these were of matriculation standing. A university was important to Calgary as a means of arousing greater local interest in higher education. In this area Edmonton high school students he felt displayed a much greater interest simply because the university was in their

³²Cited in C.H., Friday, November 20, 1914, p. 1. See also the Falconer Report, Appendix V, regarding Calgary's case for a university.

midst. Such an argument, while undoubtedly true, could be used to justify countless numbers of universities but it in no way explained how they could be financed.

The principal of the Calgary High School estimated that university was the destination of 50 per cent of the grade XII students and that most of these went to Toronto, McGill or Queen's rather than to the University of Alberta. The implication was that a university in Calgary would keep most of the students at home. There is nothing to warrant such an assumption and, furthermore, it was only assumed to be a good thing if such students did stay at home for their university years.

T. B. Kidner, the Director of Technical Education for the Calgary Public School Board, described the technical educational programme operating in Calgary. Like Scott, he advocated a university in Calgary as a means of assisting education in general and secondary education in particular. He stated that the enrollment last year in the technical education classes was 1,150. Calgary therefore needed an institution to train technical specialists. He concurred with MacRae in feeling that the time was not ripe for the establishment of a second university but felt that there should be in Calgary one strong faculty.³³ It would be reasonable to assume that he would have preferred a science faculty. Like so many others he found it impossible to think of technical education outside of a formal university framework.

³³See: C.A., Saturday, November 21, 1914, p. 8.

G. Bryan, former Principal of the Normal School, and a respected authority on Alberta education, advocated either a full-fledged university at Calgary or a strong arts faculty plus a department of applied science supported, at least in part, by the state. Should there be established a full-fledged university he envisioned that it would be supported wholly by the City of Calgary and southern Alberta; otherwise he advocated a Calgary College, affiliated with the University of Alberta. Being the organizer of the Normal School and interested in its welfare he intimated that he had assumed that when a normal school was built in Calgary the university naturally would be established in the same city. He believed that Alberta was divided naturally into two parts but that the south, being much more industrialized, required a different kind of higher education system. When asked if he had considered the cost of the annual maintenance of the type of college he was proposing, Bryan remarked:

I have not, but it is no great drawback to go to the people. It keeps them interested in the cause of higher education. There are many people in Calgary who would give generously to a university, who would not contribute to a college. Personally I would prefer the university supported entirely by the people of the south.³⁴

³⁴Ibid.

George James Bryan (1868- ?)--graduate of Queen's; Principal of Public Schools in Regina for 3 years; Inspector of Schools for Northern Alberta 1901; for Southern Alberta 1903; selected to head the Normal School 1905-1909 (resigned to enter business); organized Alberta Loan and Investment Co. of which T. H. Blow was the Vice-President and James Short a Director.

Bryan obviously had learned very little from his association with Calgary College. There is no reason whatever to suppose that had Calgary had a university instead of simply a college the financial support would have been appreciably greater. The support of a university clearly was beyond the financial capability of Calgary, or any other urban area in Alberta. (See Appendix IV for the government grants given to the University of Alberta.) Also there was no indication that southern Alberta would have been enthusiastic about contributing to the kind of university Bryan envisioned.

Chancellor Stuart was an advocate of some kind of affiliation being arranged between Calgary and Edmonton. He suggested that whatever endowment Calgary College possessed should be put into the hands of the University of Alberta Board of Governors, to be spent in Calgary on some kind of institution of higher education affiliated with the University of Alberta. Whether or not Calgary College should become that affiliated institution he did not know. He added that to the best of his knowledge he knew of no existing proposal for the holding of a conference between the two institutions.

Bishop Pinkham was very much in favour of a university for Calgary; indeed he had been for years one of the staunchest supporters of the idea. Given the projected population growth over the next few years he felt that two universities were not too many for the province to support. At the beginning of the Calgary venture he indicated that he had certain reservations about the project but became convinced of its possibility as a result of the great liberality shown by the citizens. A university at Calgary should

complement, not compete with, the University of Alberta, and this could be done by allowing Calgary to concentrate upon technical and scientific education. He was fully aware of the fact that such private ventures often encountered difficulties in financing but "in the west we look at things in a large way and we should be looking to the future."³⁵ An interesting sentiment but one hardly adequate upon which to build a university.

Dean MacDougall spoke on behalf of the faculty. The extension service provided by the university was deemed a very valuable service and the Calgary institution took justifiable pride in its social and civic approach to learning. He agreed with the Commission that it should be possible for Calgary to have a college in affiliation with the University of Alberta. For him however the important thing was to ensure that any Calgary institution be able to maintain its individuality--implying independence in such matters as staff, grading system, examinations, and the like. His emphasis upon the service aspect received support from such as Miss Glass, Secretary of the Y.W.C.A., Mr. Pryde, President of the Trades and Labor Council, and the Rev. R. Pearson, Secretary for the Y.M.C.A.

W. Kent Power spoke briefly about legal education. With law being taught both in Calgary and Edmonton he thought that the opportunities for legal study were about equal in the two cities.

Such was the tenor of the testimony that occupied two days of hearings. Generally there seems to have been no adequate grasp of

³⁵Ibid.

some of the fundamental problems involved in establishing an institution of higher learning, especially as regards financing. There was little agreement as to what would best suit Calgary's needs. Calgary was worthy of having something in higher education; beyond that there was no consensus. The various arguments supporting Calgary's claim reflected to a large extent civic pride rather than what was patently feasible at the time.

Shortly after the hearings the Commissioners returned to their respective homes. There was no indication as to when their report would be ready for release. Boyle had written to Falconer late in November enquiring as to the date of release. He was told little other than it would be ready as soon as possible.³⁶ Murray went to Toronto regarding the drafting of the report while MacKenzie was kept well informed by mail. The report was completed and forwarded to Boyle, December 29, 1914.³⁷ Given the three commissioners and the fact that they spent such a short time in hearings leaves room for thinking that the recommendations were a foregone conclusion.

³⁶F.P. Letter from Falconer to Boyle, December 2, 1914.

³⁷F.P. Letter from Falconer to Boyle, December 29, 1914.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLOSING OF CALGARY COLLEGE

By January, 1915, the fate of Calgary College still was pending. The Falconer Report while it had reached Alberta had not been made public, presumably because Boyle was on a visit to the Southern United States.¹ In Calgary it was assumed that the College would not become defunct, even though it was in a perilous financial state and was still negotiating with City Council for assistance. The Council still was interested in the project and decided to set a date for the execution of the mortgage required by By-law No. 1170. "Therefore, be it resolved, that the date of the said mortgage be fixed as of the 20th day of January, A.D. 1915, and Council of the City of Calgary doth hereby agree to the said date as and for the date of the said mortgage."² The motion was carried. Calgary College however was in need of immediate financial assistance. Reilly, MacDougall and Blow appeared before the Finance Committee and sought an advance from the City's sinking fund of \$10,000 on account of the proceeds of By-law 1170. The Finance Committee recommended to Council:

That the City's note, in the amount of \$10,000, for a period of three months, dating from January 20, 1915, with interest at 6% per annum, be given the Canadian Bank of

¹F.P. Letter from Falconer to Mackenzie, January 23, 1915. For other general correspondence dealing in part with the Report see, for example, F.P., Letter to Murray, February 6, 1915 and to Boyle, February 6, 1915.

²Calgary City Council Minutes, January 25, 1915, p. 54.

Commerce as security for advance to the Calgary College Board in the above amount, the City undertaking to pay on account of said note, a sum not less than 1/3 of the total amount of same, provided the City is given the privilege of renewing the balance of the note for a further period of three months.³

This recommendation hardly had been accepted when the Finance Committee sought an amendment to the effect that Calgary College, instead of receiving a single \$10,000 note, be given two notes of \$5,000 each.⁴ However before the College was able to realize any City assistance the Falconer Report was made public.

Boyle had returned to Edmonton and he indicated to Falconer that he thought the Report would be "satisfactory both to the Government, the City of Calgary and the general public."⁵ The Report had been in the hands of the government for the better part of two months and its release was anxiously awaited. It was tabled in the House on 25th February, 1915.⁶

³Ibid., January 29, 1915, p. 92. This recommendation of the Finance Committee was adopted by City Council February 1st.

⁴Ibid., February 12, 1915, p. 107.

⁵F.P. Letter to Falconer from Boyle, February 13, 1915.

⁶See Appendix V for the complete Falconer Report. Outside Calgary there was little interest shown in the release of the Report. It was ignored by such as the Red Deer Advocate and the Medicine Hat Weekly News: even the L.H. had little of note to say. The E.B. commented that the decision reached "will be accepted as final, and while some Calgary people will be doubtless disappointed it is not easy to see upon what ground these can justify the continuance of an agitation for degree conferring powers for their college. . . . The conciliatory compromise is offered Calgary of an institute of technology partly supported by the Province. That is all that in fairness can be asked." E.B., Saturday, February 27, 1915, p. 4.

Outside Alberta The Globe, Toronto, makes no mention of the issuance of the Report. The Manitoba Free Press, Winnipeg, Friday,

Perhaps the most important part of the Report was that dealing with university finance. As a result of the hearings it became abundantly clear that the province of Alberta would be doing very well to support adequately one first class university. Tory and other critics of the Calgary scheme were supported in their contention that a second university in the province could not exist solely as a privately financed institution (even the Calgary authorities now were admitting this) and that state support would lead to a reduction in the appropriation given to the University of Alberta. Clearly the choice was between the province having one good, solidly-based university or two or more impoverished, mediocre ones. The notion of the Calgary university being well endowed was dispelled and the scheme exposed--not only had very little money actually been subscribed but by 1915 the institution was running a deficit of nearly \$6,000. Also, of the total expenditure to November, 1914, which was almost \$50,000, some \$20,000 was a loan made out of the Lord Strathcona gift to the Tregillus Clay Products Company on a note secured by a second mortgage."⁷

February 26, 1915, p. 7, made mention of its release and the fact that it recommended the having of one provincial university and the establishment of a technical institute for Calgary.

⁷Falconer Report. This would explain the Calgary College registering a caveat against the Tregillus property adjacent to the university site. Tregillus earlier had borrowed \$20,000 from the Quebec Bank, which registered a caveat against the same property. There is nothing to indicate any intended impropriety on the part of Tregillus: undoubtedly the money he borrowed was to be for a short-term, repayable as his new brick factory fulfilled the orders which had been received. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, the war came and Tregillus went bankrupt through over-extension.

A part of the deficit of the College was due to unpaid salaries--by 1915 there were simply no funds. The Registrar, MacWilliams, said that "there is no money to be had, nor will Banks [sic] advance anything" ⁸ Eastman stated that the "financial situation here is rather bad. My salary is nearly \$500 in arrears, & outlook uncertain. . . . the Governors appear nearly 'dead-broke', & we may have to wait long." ⁹ Considering all aspects of the financial situation the Commissioners drew the only logical conclusion that there were in

⁸Braithwaite Papers, Letter from MacWilliams, Registrar of Calgary College, to Braithwaite, February 1, 1915, Regional History Archives, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario. Hereinafter referred to as B.P.

⁹B.P. Letter from Eastman to Braithwaite, March 5, 1915. Previously Eastman had indicated that his salary arrears amounted to about \$700. B.P. Letter from Eastman to Braithwaite, December 28, 1914. Eastman's salary for that year was to have been \$2,200 and, should money be made available, he was going to be recommended for a \$200 bonus. Of all those on staff Eastman was perhaps the most financially secure since he held the Skinner Chair of History endowed by a cash gift of \$35,000. One wonders if this endowment had not been used for other purposes.

By this time Eastman was seeking another position either at the University of British Columbia or with Braithwaite in London. The U.B.C. prospects were not hopeful and he indicated a willingness to go to London. " . . . if things don't immediately improve here I should be willing to accept a position with you at \$2,000. . . ."

B.P. Letter from Eastman to Braithwaite, March 20, 1915. As it happened the U.B.C. prospect materialized and he went to Vancouver. B.P. Letter to Braithwaite, May 28, 1915.

Others in Calgary were following in Eastman's footsteps. For example C. F. Ward sought a position at Victoria and Braithwaite wrote for him a letter of recommendation. In a letter to Ward Braithwaite said: "I am sorry that the Calgary enterprise has not turned out more favorably, but in view of the circumstances I do not wonder that your men are looking elsewhere." B.P. Letter from Braithwaite to Ward, May 21, 1915. As it happened Ward left Calgary in the summer of 1915 to take a position at the Rice Institute, Texas. Later he desired to return to Canada and solicited Falconer's assistance. See F.P., Letter from Ward to Falconer, December 27, 1915.

fact no funds being reserved for endowment and that:

Since private liberality, assisted by civic taxation, was not seen to be equal to the task of supporting a properly equipped University in Calgary, the only alternative, if such an institution were to be maintained, would be for the Province to assume a large part of the financial burden. This is clearly recognized by the friends and authorities of Calgary College. . . .¹⁰

The Report also upheld Tory in his view that the University of Alberta, in its student body, was representative of the province as a whole. Many advocates of the Calgary university had contended that an Edmonton-based institution was not and could not ever be a truly representative university. In actual fact the University of Alberta had from its inception made every effort to serve students from all parts of the province and any doubts about its success surely were dispelled by 1915.¹¹

The Commissioners recommended that one university was adequate to meet provincial needs and that Calgary College not be accorded degree-granting powers. Tory's principle of unity in higher education therefore was supported. It was recognized however that considerable interest in education had been generated in Calgary and that a need existed in the province for an institution to train people in the fields of technology, fine and applied arts. It was proposed that such an institution be established in Calgary and be

¹⁰Falconer Report.

¹¹For a detailed breakdown of the student population of the University of Alberta, in part dealing with the years 1908-1914, but concentrating upon 1913-1914, see: T.P., Report of the Faculties, 1914. The Report considers the students with regard to such as sex, age, ethnic origins, religion and place of residence.

financed jointly by the City and the Province. While it would not be empowered to grant degrees it could award certificates and diplomas and it was suggested that the University of Alberta grant credit for courses taken in the institute which it deemed equivalent to its own.

With the release of the Report there was some disappointment in Calgary circles at not gaining university status. The fact that bitterness was missing perhaps indicates that most were willing to see in the Commission a convenient way of burying the entire issue gracefully. However, there was a general willingness to accept the concept of a technical institute and to see in it something which, should it develop along proper lines, could be of immense value in the future. It is not likely that the withholding of degree-granting powers came as a surprise and besides, a technical institute was not out of keeping with Calgary thinking--the university promoters long had emphasized the importance of technology and science, partly no doubt to remove any grounds for critics to charge a Calgary university with merely duplicating the services offered in Edmonton. Clearly, a great deal would depend upon just what form a proposed technical institute would take and by the spring of 1915 this was by no means clear. Ultimately its adequacy was seen to depend upon the extent to which it was financially supported, especially by the Province, and the degree to which it would offer more than instruction at the secondary school level. Even the Calgary Herald was prepared to see good in the recommendation. " . . . there is reason to believe that much as we would have liked to be known as a regular

university centre, to be known as a provincial centre of technical education, with all that the term implies, will really serve us better."¹²

By the end of February, 1915, no one knew just how far the provincial government was prepared to implement the recommendations and neither was it clear as to what was to happen to the Calgary College. Braithwaite was somewhat suspicious of the end result and feared that

it will put a damper upon the whole scheme that they had in mind. If the institute of Technology is established, however, on the liberal and broad basis that was hoped by a good many who were interested it will do something to alleviate the disappointment in not getting the fully established university.¹³

Eastman saw a chance that the College would survive.¹⁴ R. B. Bennett strongly supported the Commission recommendations.¹⁵ The School

¹²C.H., Friday, February 26, 1915, p. 1. In the same edition there is a lengthy discussion of recommendations of the Falconer Report, p. 13. Falconer was very interested in the views of the Herald. Upon receipt of an editorial from the Herald he wrote: " . . . I am very much interested in the view that they take of the situation, because I assume that if the report appeals to the 'Herald' it will appeal to a large section of Calgary." F.P. Letter from Falconer to McNaught, March 3, 1915.

¹³B.P. Letter from Braithwaite to the Rev. S. H. Eastman, March 3, 1915.

¹⁴B.P. Letter from Eastman to Braithwaite, March 5, 1915. " . . . Of course, there is still some chance that Calgary College will continue. . . ." However, he had decided that he wanted no part of any technical institute and indicated that he would take a position at London. " . . . if the gov't. & City go ahead with the Technical Institute you will get your due--At present the Governors haven't a cent . . . " B.P. Letter from Eastman to Braithwaite, May 5, 1915.

¹⁵C.H., Saturday, March 6, 1915, p. 1. When asked whether Ottawa was prepared to act upon the recommendations of the Commission

Management Committee recommended "that the Board express its approval of the general tenor of the Report of the University Commission, and its willingness to co-operate in working out further details of the proposed scheme."¹⁶ With Calgarians generally willing to accept the recommendations of the Falconer Commission, the views of the government were all important. It appears that Falconer himself envisioned a technical institute offering fairly advanced scientific training.¹⁷

In Calgary a meeting of interested citizens was held March 6 to discuss the situation and to set up a committee to consider the Report. At a meeting on March 8 the committee passed a resolution calling upon the provincial government to establish the proposed institute of technology and art in association with Calgary College and to bear the full maintenance cost.¹⁸ Calgary College presumably

on Technical Education and provide money for technical education, Bennett indicated simply that no one was talking of that kind of expenditure at that time.

¹⁶Calgary Public School Board Minutes, Friday, March 5, 1915. The Board accepted this recommendation March 9, 1915.

¹⁷F. H. MacDougall had written to Falconer seeking a position at the University of Toronto in Physical Chemistry. In his reply Falconer indicated that there was little likelihood of there being such an opening and said: " . . . I do not see why you should not remain for a while at least in Calgary College, if the Government carry out our Report along the lines that were planned. It was expected that there would be a good deal of scientific work done, such as would be necessary to train advanced technicians, not of the Engineering grade, and that the work would almost necessarily have to be undertaken by men who have had a thorough academic training. . . ." F.P. Letter from Falconer to MacDougall, April 10, 1915.

¹⁸C.A., Tuesday, March 9, 1915, p. 5. The desire to maintain Calgary College is not surprising considering that almost all the members of the committee were people who had been associated actively in the Calgary university movement. Blow was the committee chairman.

was to exist as an arts college offering the first two years of university work. What emerges clearly out of the committee meeting is that there were almost as many different conceptions of the technical institute as there were people in attendance.

Generally it was agreed that technical education was necessary and that provisions for it were seriously lacking at that time. A technical institution it was hoped would serve to keep more students in school for a longer period and therefore would be "of far greater benefit to Calgary than a struggling university at the present time."¹⁹ MacRae saw technical education as providing a form of higher education for those not university bound. Cushing saw it as necessary for the development of natural resources and Riley agreed but regretted that agriculture had been omitted. Regarding the question of degrees, Kidner stressed that too much emphasis was placed upon a degree rather than the quality of the education being given.

As for Calgary College there was a strong feeling towards maintaining its identity as an arts college within the technical institute. Bryan advised its maintenance and warned against shutting the door on the idea of a university, and Davidson agreed as did Kerby and Pinkham. The underlying feeling seems to have been, despite what was said about the over-valuing of degrees, that, if the College could be maintained to give two years of arts then hopefully in the future it could offer third and fourth years which would bring with it degree-granting power and university status. The Falconer

¹⁹Ibid. This was the opinion of J. T. Macdonald, Chairman of the Public School Board.

Report did not suggest the associating of such an arts college with the technical institute but many saw the Report as a means not only of having such a college but having it supported by the state. Even Blow had to admit that Calgary College could not endure as a privately financed institution. There was some question about asking the province to assume the full maintenance cost of a combined technical institution and arts college. Reilly suggested that the matter of financing be left open to negotiation but the tie vote was broken by Blow who voted in favour of complete state support. Mayor Costello advised accepting the Report and felt that the government should bear the expense at least of the initial outlay for land and buildings. The committee agreed to meet for further discussions on Thursday, March 11, and to present its final recommendations to a citizens' meeting the following Saturday. It was agreed also, as suggested by Davidson, that a sub-committee be appointed to outline a policy for a combined school of technology and an arts college if it were possible to get one.²⁰

At the meeting on Thursday, March 11, agreement was reached upon general matters pertaining to courses, fees, entrance requirements, the composition of the governing body and the combining of an arts college. However, before further progress could be made it was necessary to have more information especially with regard to

²⁰The sub-committee consisted of Kidner (chairman), Drs. MacRae, Kerby and MacDougall, the Rev. Father MacDonald. This sub-committee made general recommendations regarding the scope of the proposals and these were adopted by the full committee at the meeting of Thursday, March 11, 1915. See: C.H., Friday, March 12, 1915, p. 12.

what the City was prepared to do by way of assisting in the establishment of the new institution and it was suggested that it was unreasonable to expect the province to bear the entire cost involved --among other things this might stifle local initiative and interest in the project. Mayor Costello indicated that the City might go to the ratepayers with a \$150,000 by-law for technical education; personally, however, he felt that the government should be asked to maintain any institution erected.²¹ The meeting was unable to come to a general agreement on some of the fundamental issues. For example, regarding the question of cost some felt the government should bear the full cost, others including Davidson favoured cost-sharing with the City paying about 25 per cent, and still others such as Pinkham thought that the financial aspects should be left to a later date. As for Calgary College, Blow of course favoured its retention and enlargement while others supported its retention if possible but saw it as being dispensable if necessary. Clearly there was no agreement as to whether Calgary College fell within the scope of, or was precluded by, the recommendations of the Falconer Report although there was a general willingness to try to fit it (in some form or other) into the Report.²² MacRae, taking a broad view, had emphasized that the Commission recommendations should be viewed as offering Calgary a splendid opportunity to give some of her people

²¹C.H., Friday, March 12, 1915, p. 12.

²²See: C.A., Friday, March 12, 1915, p. 5 for a detailed report of a meeting the preceding evening.

"a chance to become scientific in some skilled direction."²³ On Saturday, March 13, 1915, there was to be a meeting of all citizens interested in the Falconer Report.

The general meeting on March 13 asked the government to establish an institute of technology and art in connection with Calgary College which was to be maintained as an arts college in affiliation with the University of Alberta. It requested that the technical institute be maintained by the province. Presumably, because of its university affiliation, Calgary College costs would also become a part of the provincial university appropriation. Also, the decision was made to send a delegation to Edmonton to discuss the entire affair with the provincial authorities.²⁴ A new approach to the problem appeared in a letter to the Herald which suggested that the University of Alberta "incorporate both the Calgary College and the proposed technological institute, giving both representation on its Senate, board of studies and board of governors . . . "²⁵ In

²³C.H., Thursday, March 11, 1915, p. 6. Letter to the Editor. MacRae liked to envision the proposed technical institute as a sort of 'people's university' providing wide opportunities for the masses. In support of this view see the editorial in C.A., Saturday, March 13, 1915, p. 3. There were others who felt that too much technical education could be dangerous and that it was "pitiful to observe the lack of literary knowledge and appreciation in a great many of the graduates of science and medical schools." C.A., Saturday, March 13, p. 6. Letter to the Editor from "A Student."

²⁴For the names of those forming the delegation see C.H., Monday, March 15, 1915, p. 7. It contained representatives of the City, school boards, business, and the Senate and Board of Governors of Calgary College--including Blow, Reilly and MacDougall.

²⁵C.H., Wednesday, March 17, 1915, p. 6. Letter to the Editor from A. P. Hayes. He felt that this arrangement would allow a

any event there were many issues to be discussed in Edmonton and no planning could be done until after the views of the government were known.

The Calgary delegation met with Premier Sifton on March 24 and were pleased with their reception. Sifton apparently indicated that Calgary was certain of getting a technical institute and that the government was prepared to assume its share of the responsibilities and expenses; obviously he did not indicate a willingness to assume the entire financial burden. With regard to Calgary College Sifton indicated that the Falconer Report did not advise the establishment of two institutions--Calgary College and a technical institute--but indicated that the new institution might be known as Calgary College and could include in its curriculum a two year arts course. Apart from indicating a general acceptance of the Falconer recommendations, Sifton was committed to nothing and many issues would have to be settled in future negotiations. It was perhaps with undue optimism that one paper stated: "It is good to know that Calgary College will be continued and that the promotion of arts and technical learning will go hand in hand."²⁶ Sifton advised that

student to qualify for degrees in some areas in Calgary while at the same time preserving the concept of university unity. The idea was not likely to have held much appeal for Tory.

²⁶C.H., Thursday, March 25, 1915, p. 6. In stating the case for the retention of Calgary College, MacRae argued that technical education alone was insufficient--some arts training was necessary. Bryan desired the College hoping that in future it might become a degree-granting institution. Mayor Costello was sympathetic towards the College but was most interested in getting the government to move

Calgary appoint a select committee to meet with Boyle.

If legislation establishing the technical institute was to be introduced during the current session of the Legislature, the major task of the Calgary officials was to re-draft the Calgary College Charter so as to incorporate within it a technical institute. The College continued its operation into the spring of 1915 but it was becoming apparent that without the assurance of public funds the institution would fold. A difficulty arose over the composition of the proposed nine member Board of Directors for the new institution. Calgary College sought the right to appoint four, arguing that this would ensure the least political interference in the future. Also, of course, it felt that this was the College's just reward for turning its assets over to the new school. Probably very few at the time were really aware of the College's perilous financial condition.²⁷ Therefore, during early April, there was a serious rift involving the City, Calgary College, and the School Board.²⁸ Following a meeting

and get the new institution, in whatever form, underway. See the account in C.H., Wednesday, March 24, 1915, pp. 1 and 10.

Following the interview with Sifton it should have been apparent that it was unlikely that Calgary was going to get both a College and a technical institute. Sifton indicated that this would be both inefficient and too costly.

²⁷The Falconer Report recommended that of the four members representing the City of Calgary, one should be elected by the College. See: the Falconer Report.

²⁸It appears that the City, rather than the School Board as recommended in the Report, was going to appoint the three directors representing Calgary. The School Board was very anxious that agreement be reached quickly on all outstanding issues and viewed Calgary College's claim to four members as the obstacle in the way of agreement. For a discussion of the difficulties see: F. Simon, "History

between Boyle and representatives of Calgary College on April 14 it appeared as though an acceptable compromise had been reached.²⁹ A compromise it was, but the Herald spoke too soon when it said that both Blow and Bryan were satisfied with the arrangements and that a bill to establish an institute of technology and art at Calgary would be introduced and passed at the current session of the Legislature.³⁰

The Herald asserted that "the affiliation of Calgary College in the new institute of technology may be regarded as assured."³¹ In actual fact by mid-April if anything was becoming clear amid all the confusion it was that the hopes of the College perpetuating itself were fading. It was becoming obvious that the main interest

of the Alberta Provincial Institute of Technology and Art" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1962), pp. 49 ff.

²⁹ Boyle met with Bryan and Blow. Calgary College (its Board on April 11 passed a resolution asking for at least two representatives) agreed to accept a minimum of one representative on the Board of Directors of the technical institute with permission to add an additional one if donations justified it--i.e., the College representation would be "on the basis of the proportion that the appraised value of the assets of Calgary College bore to the amount contributed by the city and the province." C.H., Thursday, April 15, 1915, p. 4. Letter to the Editor from G. T. Bryan. Bryan's letter is very bitter and he indicates that but for the interference of the School Board representatives during the negotiations Calgary College would have reached a much better settlement. This was probably misplaced optimism given the value of College assets. See also: C.H., Wednesday, April 14, 1915, p. 10, and Friday, April 16, 1915, pp. 6 and 9; C.A., Saturday, April 17, 1915, p. 3.

³⁰ C.H., Wednesday, April 14, 1915, p. 1. During the days following the paper realized just how unhappy the College officials were with having only one representative on the directorate of the new institute. Also it soon became apparent that there was no chance whatsoever of the Legislature passing any such bill that session.

³¹ C.H., Friday, April 16, 1915, p. 6.

of the College Board was not affiliation per se but rather to salvage for itself what it could and to continue in existence by riding on the 'coat-tails' of the new technical school and so gain provincial financial support. The City had made no statement regarding its views on the retention of the College and the College having representation on the directorate--despite Blow's claim that the College had turned over to the new project \$1,000,000 in donations.³² In fact, as the Falconer Report showed, the College had a deficit of over \$5,000! It was not until May that the parties concerned appeared ready to act and the Finance Committee of City Council recommended regarding Calgary College and the institute of technology:

. . . that the Mayor be authorised to appoint a delegate of the City Council to co-operate with a representative of the Calgary College Board to confer with the Minister of Education for the purpose of ascertaining and defining the scope of the work to be undertaken by the Calgary College, along technical lines, between now and the next meeting of the Legislature, and the cost thereof. . . .³³

By May there was further evidence that Calgary College was in very dire financial straits. A College deputation consisting of Blow and McWilliams had requested a further advance of \$5,000 on account of the

³²C.A., Tuesday, April 20, 1915, p. 1. The City had taken no action toward getting the technical school established because it had not come to an acceptable understanding with the government over financial arrangements. Therefore it did not know how the College assets could be used. The problem facing the City was simply--was the City going to be responsible for any financial obligations over and above providing \$150,000 (as originally promised to the College) or would the government bear the full cost? Mayor Costello definitely favoured the latter scheme.

³³Calgary City Council Minutes, May 4, 1915, p. 311. This recommendation of the Finance Committee was accepted by Council on May 10, 1915. See: Calgary City Council Minutes, p. 309.

proceeds of the By-law No. 1170 "to meet salaries and accounts due at the present time."³⁴ The Finance Committee concurred with City Solicitor Ford that "it would be unwise to make any further allowance to the Calgary College Board. . . ."³⁵ Council desired to await the outcome of the meeting to be held between Boyle and representatives of the City and the College. Clearly the College was insolvent and to talk of turning over to the City substantial assets to help finance the technical institute was strange indeed.

A meeting was held in June with Boyle to try to reach agreement on the financial question. In spite of the recommendations of the Falconer Commission that the City and the Province share the maintenance cost (after the College assets, which by this time consisted of land, had been used for a building and equipment) with each to have equal representation on the Board of Directors, Costello was reluctant to agree to this arrangement. He was willing that the \$150,000 originally voted for Calgary College be applied to the new institution but felt that the Province, as it did with the University of Alberta, should bear the total maintenance cost.³⁶ Boyle did not reject the idea although if the government bore the full cost in all likelihood it would expect full control. Although the provincial government already had rejected the idea of having

³⁴Calgary City Council Minutes, May 28, 1915, p. 458.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶See the account of the conference in C.H., Saturday, June 12, 1915, p. 9. Attending with Costello were Blow and MacDougall.

two institutions--Calgary College and the institute of technology and art--it was suggested that the City maintain the former and the Province the latter but the idea was not satisfactory to the government as it feared a duplication of educational services.³⁷ While the issue between Boyle and Costello was not settled one thing that did emerge from the conference was a recognition by the government of the true financial condition of Calgary College. In a letter to Costello, Boyle said, regarding the use of College assets to erect and equip the new technical school,

that it would be difficult at the present time to realize sufficient from the assets of the college for the above purpose. It has therefore been decided that the government will finance one-half of the cost of the building, equipment and grounds if Calgary College and the City of Calgary are prepared to finance the other half.³⁸

Following the conference with Boyle, Calgary College again approached the Finance Committee of City Council for financial assistance. The Committee referred the application to City Solicitor Ford "to enquire into the advisability of settling all the debts of Calgary College and to secure their property to the City as collateral for further advances to cover past indebtedness. . . ."³⁹ Blow indicated that the College was prepared to turn over all its assets to

³⁷C.A., Monday, June 14, 1915, p. 3.

³⁸Cited in C.H., Friday, June 18, 1915, p. 12. Boyle indicated that the government was willing that Calgary utilize the assets of the College to finance its half of the undertaking. This communication was referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report. See: Calgary City Council Minutes, Monday, June 21, 1915, p. 526.

³⁹Calgary City Council Minutes, Friday, June 18, 1915, p. 545. The College deputation consisted of Blow, Burns and MacDougall.

the City and to retire from the scene. The City was asked to assume \$6,000 in indebtedness incurred for salaries and other expenses. It appears however that Blow was not thinking of a permanent retirement of the College but rather that it would "cease operations until the merger with the proposed Institute of Technology was accomplished."⁴⁰ Such a scheme was not to materialize. On July 19, 1915, Calgary College passed a resolution accepting the terms of City Council and surrendered all its assets to the City.⁴¹ On July 26, 1915, the Finance Committee reported to Council that the College liabilities amounted to \$15,987.55 which would be paid by the City and charged to a fund selected by the City Solicitor and Treasurer until the

⁴⁰Cited in C.A., Saturday, June 19, 1915, p. 12.

⁴¹Calgary City Council Minutes, July 22, 1915, p. 603. The following resolution was passed by the Calgary College Senate and Board of Governors (each adopted the following in separate sessions). "Whereas the Senate the Board of Governors accept the following as the basis of an agreement as between the City of Calgary and the Calgary College.
 "First. The Senate and Board of Governors on behalf of Calgary College surrender to the City all claim to the proceeds of the city Bylaw No. 1170 granting Calgary College a bonus of \$150,000.
 "Second. The Senate and Board of Governors on behalf of Calgary College surrender to the City of Calgary all right to negotiation with the Provincial Government on behalf of the City and the College.
 "Third. The Senate and Board of Governors do hereby agree to accept all amendments to the College Charter which may be found desirable as a result of the negotiations between the Provincial Government and the City of Calgary, and agree to give reasonable assistance to bringing about the said amendments to the College Charter.
 "Fourth. The Senate and Board of Governors agree in consideration of the City's assuming all the liabilities of the College to pledge or mortgage to the City of Calgary its available assets, provided that the City undertake to obtain from the next provincial legislature, legislation enabling the City to return to the College the assets so assigned or mortgaged, and also legislation empowering the College to dispose of its donation in a manner agreeable to each donor: . . ."

debentures authorized under By-law No. 1170 were sold.⁴² Calgary College disappeared from the scene.

With the demise of the College, Simon states that the City returned virtually all the assets of the institution to the original donors.⁴³ Since most of the assets were in the form of promises there was really nothing to be returned. It should not be overlooked that a few people lost considerable sums of money, for example Lord Strathcona who had donated \$25,000. It is not clear for example just how much Blow and Tregillus actually contributed financially but in all likelihood it was a sizable sum and this was lost as was the \$35,000 given by T. J. S. Skinner to endow the Chair of History. As mentioned earlier, the fact that Eastman's salary was so in arrears would indicate that the endowment money was being used for other purposes. As for the land, the quarter section passed into the hands of the municipality of Springbank in 1934 in default of taxes. It is interesting to note that the mineral rights to the land still are in the name of the College.

The life of the Calgary College was short but its founding and operation certainly formed an important focal point of political and

⁴²Calgary City Council Minutes, Monday, July 26, 1915, p. 605. It seems that the City had advanced \$10,000, plus the College had further liabilities of \$5,987.55. Many years later appeared the following in the C.H., Thursday, October 26, 1939, p. 11. "The ghost of the university which Calgary never got will be raised at the afternoon's meeting of the Civic Finance Committee when City Comptroller E. A. Hookway will recommend that the sum of \$16,918.36 shown on civic books as an asset, be written off."

⁴³Simon, op. cit., p. 61.

educational interest and contributed much to the Calgary-Edmonton rivalry. There is no doubting the zeal of the promoters but, in retrospect at least, the entire project was based upon misplaced optimism. There was little grasp of the political realities of the time. Some of those who were most actively involved such as Pinkham, Kerby, MacRae and Tregillus were sincere in their efforts to promote education and the well-being of the city of Calgary. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, however, that many of the supporters saw the College as a commercial rather than an academic venture. This was true especially of Blow who was very active in real estate, owning land in downtown Calgary, and in business ventures such as the Alberta Loan and Investment Company, of which he was vice-president. Whether to advance his own business interests or to serve the cause of education the evidence suggests that in his promotion of the College he deliberately distorted the facts and misled the public.

Calgary College was an interesting educational experiment and its founding was a tribute to the idealism of those who sought to establish a flourishing institution of higher learning. There is little question that in the capital-university controversy the legislature treated Calgary most unfairly. However to have attempted to found a privately endowed university in Calgary in 1912 given such as the economic, political and population situation in Alberta at that time was to put zeal before understanding. Perhaps the most amazing thing is the fact that Calgary College was able to operate at all for a three year period. The folding of the College occasioned

little surprise and with its passing Calgary was not to have its own completely autonomous university until 1966, although The University of Calgary gained financial and academic autonomy in 1963. In accordance with the recommendations of the Falconer Report a provincial technical institute was established in 1916, and moved to its present site a few years later. From 1915-1945, when Calgary acquired a branch of the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta, post-secondary education in the city was handled by the normal school and the technical institute.

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APPENDIX I

POPULATION STATISTICS

APPENDIX II

ELECTION RESULTS: 1905, 1909, 1911, 1913

ELECTION RESULTS 1905

Constituency	Member
Athabasca	W. F. Bildin
Banff	E. W. Fisher
Calgary	Hon. W. H. Cushing
Cardson	J. W. Woolf
Edmonton	Hon. C. W. Cross
Gleichen	C. A. Stuart
High River	A. J. Robertson*
Innisfail	J. A. Simpson
Lacombe	W. F. Puffer
Leduc	R. T. Telford
Lethbridge	Hon. L. G. De Veber
Medicine Hat	Hon. W. T. Finlay
Macleod	M. McKenzie
Peace River	T. A. Brick
Pincher Creek	J. P. Marcellus
Ponoka	J. R. McLeod
Red Deer	J. T. Moore
Rosebud	C. Hiebert*
St. Albert	H. W. McKenny
Stony Plain	J. A. McPherson
Strathcona	Hon. A. C. Rutherford
Sturgeon	J. R. Boyle
Vermillion	M. McCauley
Victoria	F. A. Walker
Wetaskiwin	A. S. de Rosenroll

*Conservative M.P.P.'s

ELECTION RESULTS 1909

Constituency	Member
Edmonton	Hon. C. W. Cross
Edmonton	J. A. MacDougall
Strathcona	Hon. A. C. Rutherford
Calgary	Hon. W. H. Cushing
Calgary	R. B. Bennett, K.C.*
St. Albert	L. Boudreau
Stony Plain	J. A. McPherson
Vegreville	J. B. Holden
Alexander	A. B. Moore
Vermillion	A. Campbell
Wetaskiwin	C. H. Olin
Ponoka	Dr. A. Campbell
Stettler	R. Shaw
Camrose	G. P. Smith
Red Deer	E. Michener*
Innisfail	J. A. Simpson
Olds	D. Marshall
Didsbury	J. E. Stauffer
Cochrane	Hon. C. W. Fisher
Gleichen	E. H. Riley
Okotoks	G. Hoadley*
High River	L. M. Roberts
Nanton	J. M. Glendenning
Claresholm	M. McKenzie
Macleod	C. Genge
Pincher Creek	Dr. D. Warnock
Cardston	J. W. Woolf
Medicine Hat	Hon. W. T. Finlay
Rocky Mountain	C. M. O'Brien**
Lethbridge City	W. A. Buchanan
Lethbridge District	A. J. McLean***
Pembina	H. W. McKenny
Pokun	P. E. Lessard
Lac St. Anne	P. Gunn

*Conservative

**Socialist

***Independent

ELECTION RESULTS 1909 (continued)

Constituency	Member
Sturgeon	J. R. Boyle
Victoria	F. A. Walker
Leduc	R. T. Telford
Lacombe	W. F. Puffer
Sedgewick	C. Stewart
Peace River	J. K. Cornwall
Athabasca	J. L. Cote

BYE-ELECTIONS 1911

Constituency	Former Member	Member
Calgary	R. B. Bennett (Con)	T. M. Tweedie*
Lethbridge City	W. A. Buchanan (Lib)	J. S. Stewart*
Pincher Creek	Dr. Warnock (Lib)	J. Kemmis*
Gleichen	A. J. McArthur (Lib)	H. W. Riley*

ELECTION RESULTS 1913

Constituency	Member
Acadia	J. A. McColl
Alexandria	J. R. Lowery*
Benver River	W. Gariepy, K.C.
Bow Valley	G. Lane
Camrose	G. P. Smith
Calgary C.	T. M. Tweedie*
Calgary N.	S. B. Hillocks*
Calgary S	Dr. T. H. Blow*

*Conservative M.P.'s

ELECTION RESULTS 1913 (continued)

Constituency	Member
Cardston	M. Woolf
Claresholm	W. Moffatt
Clearwater	H. W. McKenny
Cochrane	Hon. C. W. Fisher
Coronation	F. H. Whiteside
Didsbury	J. E. Hauffer
Edmonton	Hon. C. W. Cross
Edmonton	A. F. Ewing, K.C.*
Edmonton (S)	H. H. Crawford*
Edson	Hon. C. W. Cross
Grouard	J. L. Côté
Gleichen	J. P. McArthur
Hand Hills	R. B. Eaton
High River	G. D. Stanley*
Innisfail	F. A. Archer*
Lac Ste. Anne	P. Gunn
Lacombe	W. L. Puffer
Leduc	S. G. Tobin
Lethbridge	Dr. J. S. Stewart*
Little Bow	J. McNaughton
Medicine Hat	N. Spencer*
Macleod	R. Patterson*
Nanton	J. M. Glendenning
Olds	Hon. D. Marshall
Okotoks	G. Hoodley*
Pembina	G. McDonald
Pincher Creek	J. H. Kemmis*
Ponoka	W. A. Campbell
Redcliff	C. S. Pringle
Red Deer	E. Michener*
Ribstone	J. G. Turgeon
Rocky Mountain	R. E. Campbell*
St. Albert	L. Boudreau
St. Paul	P. E. Lessard
Sedgewick	Hon. C. Stewart
Stettler	R. L. Shaw
Stony Plain	C. Weidenhammer*
Sturgeon	Hon. J. R. Boyle
Taber	Hon. A. J. McLean
Vegreville	J. C. McCullum
Vermillion	Hon. A. L. Sifton
Victoria	F. A. Walker

ELECTION RESULTS 1913 (continued)

Constituency	Member
Wainwright	G.E. LeRoy Henderson*
Warner	F.S. Leffingwall
Wetaskiwin	C. H. Olin
Whitford	A. Shandro
Athabasca (Deferred)	A. G. McKay
Peace River (Deferred)	A. Patterson*

APPENDIX III

GOVERNMENT GRANT 1908-1913

GOVERNMENT GRANT 1908-1913*

- from Accession No. 69-98-7

University President's Papers, 1940-44

<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>
June 30, 1908	\$ 13,159.93
June 30, 1909	27,489.29
June 30, 1910	30,234.14
June 30, 1911	24,082.43
June 30, 1912	62,671.87
June 30, 1913	77,509.28
June 30, 1914	74,296.14
Dec. 31, 1914	50,670.65
Dec. 31, 1915	109,000.00

*Figures taken from University Survey Committee of 1942.

APPENDIX IV

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA ENROLLMENT FIGURES

1908 - 1915

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA ENROLLMENT FIGURES

1908 - 1915

- from Accession No. 69-98-7

University President's Papers, 1940-44

<u>Date</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
1908-1909	45
1909-1910	103
1910-1911	129
1911-1912	185
1912-1913	333
1913-1914	434
1914-1915	439

APPENDIX V

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO CONSIDER
THE GRANTING OF DEGREE-CONFERRING POWERS
TO CALGARY COLLEGE

Geo. H. V. Bulyea

Lieutenant-Governor

CANADA

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA:

...C O M M I S S I O N...

.....

GEORGE THE FIFTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the
Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India

To all to whom these presents shall come, or whom the same
may in any wise concern,

G R E E T I N G.....

WHEREAS in and by an Order of Our Lieutenant-Governor in Council,

bearing date the Twenty-Second day of MAY, in the year of Our
Lord, one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, provision has been
made for Our Commissioners therein and hereinafter named to in-
quire into and consider the proposals contained in Bill Number 48
respecting Calgary College, introduced into the Legislative
Assembly on the Second day of October, A.D., 1913.

NOW KNOW YE THAT by and with the advice of Our Lieutenant-Governor

in Council, WE do by these presents nominate, constitute and
appoint Robert Alexander Falconer, C. M. G., LL.D., D.Lit. Presi-
dent, University of Toronto, Toronto, Chairman; Walter Charles
Murray, M. A., LL.D., President, University of Saskatchewan,
Saskatoon, and Arthur Stanley MacKenzie, B. A., Ph.D., F.R.S.C.,
President, Dalhousie University, Halifax, together with the rights,
powers, privileges and emoluments unto the said office, place and

trust, of right and by law appertaining, during pleasure;

AND WE DO HEREBY under the authority of the Act respecting Inquiries concerning Public Matters, being Chapter Two of the Statutes of the Province of Alberta, 1908, confer upon Our said Commissioners the power of summonning before them any witnesses, and of requiring them to give evidence on oath, orally or in writing, or on solemn affirmation, if they are persons entitled to affirm in civil matters, and to produce such documents, and things as Our said Commissioners shall deem requisite to the full investigation of the matters into which they are hereby appointed to examine.

AND WE DO hereby require and direct Our said Commissioners to report to Our Lieutenant-Governor in Council the result of their investigation, together with the evidence taken before them.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF WE have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Our Province to be hereunto affixed.

WITNESS: The Honourable George Hedley Vicars Bulyea, Lieutenant-Governor of Our said Province, at Our Government House, in Our City of Edmonton, this TWENTY-SECOND day of MAY, in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and in the FIFTH year of OUR REIGN.

B Y C O M M A N D:

"A. J. McLean"

PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.

To the Honourable Geo. H. V. Bulyea,
Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta in Council.

Your Honour:

We, the Commissioners appointed to inquire into and consider the proposals contained in Bill Number 48 respecting Calgary College, introduced into the Legislative Assembly on the Second day of October, A. D., 1913, respectfully report to your honour in Council as follows:

I HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1903 applications having been made by denominational bodies to the Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories for the incorporation of colleges with degree granting powers, the Hon. F. W. G. Haultain, Premier of the Territories, who was also Minister of Education, introduced in that year a bill making provision for the establishment of one University and one only for the Territories, in order to avoid a repetition of the evils which by reason of competing institutions had been experienced by the Eastern Provinces. This bill was enacted by the Legislative Assembly without opposition and received general approval from the public.

In 1906, the year after the division of the Territories into two Provinces, an Act was passed by the Legislature of the Province of Alberta which repeated in all essential features the Ordinance of 1903. At the same session the Legislature voted \$150,000. for the purchase of a site for the University, the selection of the site being left to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The choice fell upon Strathcona, now South Edmonton. Steps were immediately taken for the organization of the University; the appointment of the President

was made in January 1908; teaching was begun in September 1908; and the first building was erected in 1909-10.

The development of the University of Alberta has been surprisingly rapid. The attendance of regular students taking courses leading to a degree has increased from 45 in the first year to over 400 at the present time; the staff which numbered 5 in 1908-09 has grown to 17 professors, and 26 lecturers and instructors.

To the original Faculty of Arts there have been added Faculties of Applied Science, Law and Medicine, and departments of Pharmacy and Accountancy. In addition to the regular work of instruction the University is discharging an important public service by means of its Public Health, Chemical and Engineering Testing Laboratories. The University also has, by legal enactment, the control of the examinations required by candidates seeking license to practice in the professions of Medicine, Dentistry, Surveying; and, by agreement, the University exercises similar powers with regard to Law, Architecture, Pharmacy and Accounting. In this respect the University of Alberta is unique among the Universities of Canada. It has also developed a system of Extension Courses and Travelling Libraries, which are carrying its benefits to all parts of the Province.

When the Province was erected and the Capital placed at Edmonton by Dominion Statute, the citizens of Calgary entertained the expectation that the University would be placed in their city. After the establishment of the University of Alberta at Edmonton certain citizens of Calgary petitioned the Legislature in 1910 for the incorporation of a University at Calgary. The charter proposed

for the new University was in all essential features a copy of that granted to the Provincial University. The Legislature gave incorporation to a College of Calgary, but withheld the power to confer degrees and to control the examinations required for admission to the professions.

Offers of donations of money and gifts of land including a site of 160 acres were received by the Governors of the College, some conditional upon its location, others upon its securing full University powers. The City of Calgary also voted \$150,000, for the erection of a building.

Calgary College opened in October 1912 in temporary quarters with a staff of four professors, and an attendance of 24 regular students, and one hundred and one taking one or more classes. Application for degree-conferring powers was renewed in 1911 and again in 1913. It is claimed that the failure to secure these powers is responsible for the fact that the Calgary College has not been able to attract students in greater numbers and to receive the financial support which had been expected.

When the application of Calgary College for University powers as contained in a Bill introduced October 2nd, 1913, came before the Legislature, authority was given for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into and consider the proposal contained in the Bill, and to report to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.

The Commission was appointed on the 23rd day of May, 1914, and held public sessions in Calgary on the 20th and 21st days of November, 1914, and in Edmonton on the 23rd and 24th days of the same month.

II THE CASE PRESENTED FOR A UNIVERSITY IN CALGARY

The plea of the petitioners for the granting of degree-conferring powers to Calgary College was based upon the following arguments:

1. That Calgary is particularly well situated for a University, which "while having a strong central Arts Faculty, should pay special attention to Applied Science and Technology."
2. That the Province is so large that it cannot be served by one University, and that the "southern part of Alberta is practically at the present time without University facilities," further, that the centre of population has moved southward by forty-eight miles from 1901-1911, and that Calgary will be the centre of a great industrial and agricultural development. Consequently the claim is made that such a University at Calgary would serve as a better centre for all kinds of university work, including extension work, for the Southern part of the Province than the University at Edmonton could ever be.
3. That it is the ambition of large cities to establish Universities in their midst which will act "as sources of light and influence," provide them with trained leaders, furnish education to many "who would otherwise be unable or not inclined to obtain it," and induce pupils to remain longer in the high schools.
4. That the attendance of students, more particularly the attendance of a large number of occasional students, have, notwithstanding its lack of degree-conferring powers, already justified the establishment of a University in Calgary.

The Dean and the Acting President reported that the attendance of students was as follows:

	Regular	"Special" (attending one or more regular classes)	Evening Students
1912-13	24	101	No record
1913-14	18	129	210
1914-15	17	32	50

It was explained that the "Special" students were teachers, stenographers and others who attended lectures in English, History and French, which classes were held for their convenience between 4 and 6:30 p.m. Also that the evening classes in 1913-14 included sixteen lectures on Social Service, thirteen lectures on Economic and Political questions, and fourteen lectures given at the request of the Trades and Labor Council on the "Social and Industrial History of England, France and Germany, and with the relations of Law to Economics."

5. That Calgary is indicated as a favorable place for the establishment of a University by the existence there of the Provincial Normal School and a number of private colleges and schools, in addition to an efficient system of public schools doing academic and technical work.
6. That the liberality of the citizens and the City of Calgary will provide financial support adequate for the establishment of a University with strong faculties in Arts, Law and Education is shown by the results of the campaign begun in 1911. In support of these claims the following statement of present resources was submitted:

(a) From Private sources:

1. Subscriptions amounting to \$285,600.
2. Gifts of land, in all about 575 acres.
3. Promise of endowment of \$40,000 for one chair.

(b) From the City of Calgary a grant, on certain conditions, of \$150,000. for a building.

Further the belief was expressed by the College authorities and other citizens that "The City would be prepared to give a yearly grant "based on the assessment". It was stated that three-tenths of a mill was a reasonable amount to expect.

7. In the written statement presented to the Commission and signed by the Chairman of the Senate, the Chairman of the Board of Governors and the Acting President, the opinion is expressed, that they "are justified in thinking that the Province ☒ since would contribute to the support of the more expensive faculties of Science, Medicine, etc., when the time came to establish them."
8. That while the proposed University should be under the supervision of the Provincial authorities, it should be independent of the Provincial University at Edmonton, so that each might have free scope to develop its individuality, and the Province be enriched by having "two good types of Universities instead of one", and receive the benefits of individual and civic munificence.

The foregoing arguments were set forth partly in a document signed on behalf of Calgary College by the Chairman of the Senate,

the Chairman of the Board of Governors and the Acting President; partly in evidence given by leading citizens of Calgary. This evidence brought to the attention of your Commissioners the fact that the City of Calgary has, in a highly commendable manner, attempted to adopt its system of public education to the needs of the people. It has introduced Manual Training and Domestic Science into the various grades of the public schools, has established a prevocational school for pupils whose development has been retarded, is planning the establishment of a composite high school and has operated very successfully technical courses in night classes, which were attended by 1054 persons in 1913-14.

Your Commissioners were also impressed by the recurrence throughout the evidence of the opinion that higher technical instruction should be provided to meet local needs.

Dr. Scott, the Superintendent of City schools, stated that an institution of higher learning in Calgary, if choice had to be made, should give the preference to some sort of vocational training. In this opinion Dr. Scott was seconded by Mr. Kidner, and in the special emphasis which he placed upon sociological and technical courses he was strongly supported by the religious and charitable organizations and by the Trades and Labor Council.

Mayor Sinnott, who, as Chairman of the School Board, had introduced technical training into the city schools, said, "My opinion is that the College should be along scientific lines," and that in the advancement of technical work, the College should take a leading part.

The Bishop of Calgary deprecated the establishment of a "rival to the University of Alberta," and thought that "a definite aim could be kept in view between the two institutions," and that conditions perhaps "point to our having technical and scientific education" and "that we should study to guide our institution so as to interfere as little as possible with the University of Alberta, and yet, of course, take a high position."

Dr. MacRae, Principal of Western Canada College, in answer to the question, "If there were to be but one faculty in Calgary, which would be the greatest value to the City, Arts or Applied Science?", replied, "I think Applied Science. That would appeal to our people more at this stage. I do not think I would desire it as much myself, but I think the population at large would prefer it."

Mr. R. B. Bennett M. P. said, "Agriculture is our main asset, and we must give scientific training to those who till the soil. If the City would be the home of such an institution, it would be doing the greatest work that it is possible to do. My second scheme would be some kind of technical school. I put Agriculture first and a technical school second, and as for Law and Arts, I am not concerned."

In the outline of policy considered by the Board of Governors and presented to the Commission by the Chairman of the Board, Dr. Blow, it is stated:

1. That Calgary College should be given the status of a University.
2. That the Dominion and the Province should assist by grants in aid of certain specific kinds of work.
3. That the City should assist in providing buildings and equipment, and in making grants for maintenance.

4. That the University should have:
 - a. A strong Arts Faculty, including a department of Household Science.
 - b. A School of Science
 - c. A School of Law
 - d. A Faculty of Education
 - e. A School of Agriculture
5. That in addition to regular courses in these departments there should be:
 - a. Part courses
 - b. Evening courses
 - c. Extra mural courses

In the discussion of the possibility of securing support, he admitted that an institution giving more attention to Science than to Arts would be more popular.

III THE UNIVERSITY PROBLEM IN ALBERTA

Before stating their recommendations the Commission desire to give a review of the fundamental considerations which underlie any satisfactory solution of the problem.

It must be assumed that the people of Alberta will not be satisfied unless the youth of the Province have the opportunity of obtaining the best education which its revenues can afford, so that they will not be forced to leave the Province in order to obtain a University training of the highest character.

An idea of the cost of a modern University with its professional schools and adequate laboratory equipment, is suggested by

the following figures taken from reports of State Universities for the year 1910.

<u>State</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Total Capital Expend.</u>	<u>Annual Maintenance</u>
Nebraska	1,192,214	2,839	\$ 1,348,050	\$ 633,562
Missouri	3,293,335	2,741	1,806,693	678,993
Minnesota	2,075,708	4,592	3,872,783	1,126,042
California	2,337,549	4,314	10,000,000	1,397,329
Wisconsin	2,333,860	4,099	3,825,014	1,387,264

The University of Cincinnati has been cited in the evidence as an example of what civic and private enterprise could accomplish in the establishment and maintenance of a modern University. This University has faculties of Arts, Education, Engineering, Commerce and Medicine, with buildings and equipment valued at \$2,289,000 and an endowment of \$1,200,000. Its income in 1913 was \$323,073. of which the city contributed \$197,813, the proceeds of a half mill tax. The students numbered 1,868. It should be borne in mind that Cincinnati has a population of nearly 400,000 and that it is a city of much wealth.

The resources of Calgary College, however, as set forth by the Bursar in his evidence are quite inadequate for the support of even a modest university of Arts and Science with 300 students, which according to the opinion of the Dean of the College would cost for maintenance alone not less than \$70,000 annually. This estimate is in our opinion none too high.

Assuming, as suggested by their Board, that the City of Calgary might be expected to levy a 3/10 mill tax on the city assessment, which would now produce about \$35,000 or half of the required maintenance, the College would need an income producing endowment of at least \$600,000. In addition there would be the cost of building and equipment, which would require to be raised first, and which would amount to something from \$350,000 to \$500,000.

The financial statement of the College Board shows that the present condition of the College is as follows:

	<u>Promises Made in 1911</u>	<u>Paid to Nov. 1914</u>
a. Subscriptions payable in five yearly instalments	\$100,600	\$ 6,855
b. Lord Strathcona's gift	25,000	25,000
c. Amounts bearing 6% interest, principal payable at death	<u>160,000</u>	<u>10,880</u>
	\$285,600	\$42,735
d. Endowment promised for a chair by Messrs. Bryan & Shortt	40,000	
e. Lands - 160 acres for a site and 315 acres (approximately) on various conditions, the value of which is at present impossible to estimate.		
f. A grant from the city of \$150,000 for a building on certain conditions.		

The total income received from all sources from the inception of the College to November 1914 was \$46,696.05, and the expenditure \$49,794.94; the cash on hand was \$62.63, leaving a deficit of \$3,036.26; there were also salaries and bills unpaid amounting to \$2,919.31, making a total liability of \$5,955.57. Of this expenditure

\$20,000 was a loan made out of the Lord Strathcona gift to the Tregillus Clay Products Company on a note secured by a second mortgage.

It is obvious from this statement that no funds are being reserved for endowment, and since practically all that may be realized on subscriptions, city grants and lands should be set aside for site, buildings and equipment, it was admitted that it would be necessary to make regular periodic appeals for support for maintenance.

The evident conclusion to be drawn from the above is that the resources now at the disposal of Calgary College are not such as to warrant the granting of degree-conferring powers to it as a University on a private foundation.

Since private liberality, assisted by civic taxation, does not seem to be equal to the task of supporting a properly equipped University in Calgary, the only alternative, if such an institution were to be maintained, would be for the Province to assume a large part of the financial burden. This is clearly recognized by the friends and authorities of Calgary College, who declare in their written statement that they expect the Province to contribute to the more expensive faculties of Science, Medicine &c. when formed. Your Commissioners are convinced that the granting of degree-conferring powers to Calgary College would involve state aid for a second University in the Province. But we are no less convinced that the Province is not justified in assuming this expenditure, and diverting any of its resources to the support of a second University in the

Province, as for many years to come the needs of the University of Alberta and other educational and public institutions of the Province will increase even more rapidly than the population and revenue. An idea of the rapidity and extent of this growth may be formed by the consideration of the following statement of expenditure during the first six years of the University's history:-

U N I V E R S I T Y O F A L B E R T A

(A) ANNUAL MAINTENANCE:

1908.	June 30th	\$ 3,507.65
1909.	June 30th	20,194.92
1910.	June 30th	27,199.62
1911.	June 30th	34,068.28
1912.	June 30th	42,846.97
1913.	June 30th	67,579.38
1914.	June 30th - Including Extension Work	107,333.00
1914-15	Estimate - including Extension Work	39,950.00
	Special Vote for Bond Interest	-45,000.00
		<u>181,630.00</u>
		\$483,359.82

(B) CAPITAL EXPENDITURE:

<u>Capital Cost of University to date</u>	\$1,147,000.00
<u>Land</u> , now assessed at \$3,600,000 bought for	150,000.00

An estimate of what the expenditure will amount to at the end of the next ten or fifteen years must be based upon the probabilities of the growth of the Province and the experience of similar Universities in Eastern Canada and the United States. It is perhaps not

unreasonable to expect that an attendance of 1,500 students may be realized within that period. The following estimate for this number has been given by the authorities of the University of Alberta:-

<u>Additional Capital Expenditure</u> to meet requirements of 1,500 students	\$2,000,000.00
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Making a total Capital Expenditure (including capital cost of University given above) of	3,147,000.00
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This is exclusive of the cost of the land.

Amount of <u>Annual Outlay</u> on current account, exclusive of interest charges to meet requirements of 1,500 students	\$450,000.00
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From the foregoing statement of the growth of the expenditure of the University of Alberta in the initial stages of its development, and from the statements previously given of the cost of the State Universities of the States of Nebraska, Missouri, Minnesota, Illinois, California and Wisconsin, each of these States supporting only one University, but one conclusion can be drawn as to the wisdom of asking the Province to establish and support a second University. Not one of the aforementioned States has established a second State institution of University grade, although the population in all but one exceeds 2,000,000. In the British Isles and Germany the proportion of Universities to population is about one to two and a half to three millions of people.

The financial burden involved in the establishment of two institutions of University grade within a state is not, however, the only evil, nor even the greatest, experienced by the State by reason of divided University support. President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, who has made exhaustive

enquiries into this subject, says, "The establishment of more than one institution of higher learning by the State Government has been almost always a source of political and educational weakness, and it has resulted in nearly every case in the waste of state money and in unwholesome rivalry. . . . The whole experience of the American States goes to show that the establishment of a single State institution of higher learning is the wise policy. In other words, our experience seems to show that institutional rivalry and political influence will play a large part in the educational development of a State wherever a State embarks upon the plan of building up separate institutions of higher learning." In his report to the Carnegie Foundation for 1913, he discussed at considerable length the unfortunate University situation in the States of Iowa, Kansas, Washington and Ohio due to the existence of rival State institutions.

The U. S. Commissioner of Education in his report of 1912 expresses similar views with equal emphasis. An extract from his report is given below: I 87.88.

"Twenty-two States, in the organization of their agencies for higher education, adopted in the beginning the policy of distributing them geographically, each one independent in its organization and ambitions. Whatever may have been the original motives, it is the general agreement of wise and progressive leaders of higher education in the States at the present time that there is distinct advantage in combining in one institution the colleges of liberal arts and sciences and all the professional schools, including colleges of engineering and agriculture, thus forming a single University for a given state. . . ."

"The distribution and subdivision of what should be a unified function of the State as a whole has led inevitably in most cases to waste, duplication, undesirable competition for appropriations and campaigning for students in order to get more appropriations. Not the least of the disturbing effects of this condition has been a confusion as to the standards which each institution should maintain, not merely with relation to the other parts of the higher educational system, but with reference to the secondary schools as well."

"During the past ten years many experiments have been tried in the endeavor to remedy some of the admitted defects of the system now operated in many States. The process of experimentation has gone on without very clear conception of the educational and administrative problems involved, and certainly without the much desired divorcing of educational policies from political considerations. There can be no mistake in believing that the people of several of the Commonwealths have definitely decided that waste, overlapping and unwholesome competition shall cease."

One of the evils of competition between rival State institutions deserves more than a passing notice.

Competing Universities, in order to justify an increase in State support, have yielded to the temptation of having their success estimated by the number of students in attendance; by a lowering of standards and similar methods to accomplish this end, have degraded the educational standing of the country, and also done injury to young men and women by inducing them to undertake University work, for which they are unfitted. This is a detriment to the University,

an injury to the community and an injustice to the students, who are in this way induced to withdraw from pursuits in which they could serve both themselves and public to greater advantage. For admission to courses in Arts and Science, and in professional studies, a definite standard of attainment in accepted subjects of the High School course is a necessity, and for these subjects no alternatives are satisfactory. The best educational opinion today demands, the raising, not the lowering, of entrance standards.

The following table of the geographical distribution of the students of the University of Alberta shows the extent to which the University of Edmonton is serving all parts of the Province. Roughly speaking, one-third of the students come from outside the Province, one-third from Edmonton, and one-third from the rest of the Province. Of the 156 credited to Edmonton, 75, or practically one-half, received their training in the High Schools of that city. Of the remainder, 58 made Edmonton their home because of its educational facilities, while 23 make it their home during their University course. The number credited to Calgary, 37, includes 20 Law students who receive instruction in that city.

The University of Alberta, therefore, draws its students from all sections of the Province, and as Edmonton is a convenient railway centre, it may be expected to do so in increasing measure. Experience shows that it is the academic advantages, and not the comparatively small extra cost for travelling expenses, that counts in the student's decision as to his place of study; and that it is an injustice to a student to induce him to attend an inferior institution

<u>Home Outside the Province</u>		<u>Home Within the Province</u>	
Ontario	42	Edmonton	156
Quebec	2	Calgary	37
P. E. I.	2	Red Deer	7
Nova Scotia	5	Wetaskiwin	3
New Brunswick	3	Lacombe	3
Manitoba	4	Ponoka	3
Saskatchewan	7	Vegreville	3
British Columbia	4	Ft. Saskatchewan	2
England	35	Macleod	2
Scotland	10	Camrose	2
Ireland	3	Okotoks	2
Wales	1	Morinville	2
United States	5	Lewisville	2
Iceland	1	Chaton	2
China	<u>2</u>	Lake Saskatoon	2
	126	Lethbridge	2
		Medicine Hat	2
		One each from the places mentioned below	<u>43</u>
			275
		From outside the Province	<u>126</u>
		Total	401

Bardo, Kingman, Garrington, Beaver Hills, Monitor, Barons, New Norway, Sedgewick, Edson, Amisk, Hughenden, Zetland, Stavely, Colinton, Highland, Bittern Lake, Bon Accord, Didsbury, Irma, Youngstown, Three Hills, Claresholm, Jarrow, Mound, Taber, Gadsby, Castor, Bremner, Botha, Innisfail, Raymond, Bentley, Delburn, Dusseldorf, Mannville, Kinsella, Lamont, Lougheed, Spring Bank, Martins, Cardston, Bankhead, Coalhurst.

because it is near his home. It must be borne in mind that the education of the student is dependent both upon the quality of his teacher and the influence of his fellow students. The larger and better equipped University may be expected to attract on the average the more experienced and more distinguished teachers. Also there is an intellectual stimulus in the contact of students pursuing varied studies. Further, it is of great advantage to the people of the Province to have their students educated together, because thereby the unification of the interests and the solidarity of the life of the Province are promoted. It is true that unless distributed into collegiate units there may be disadvantages in having large and unwieldy masses of students particularly of college grade, but the University of Alberta will not suffer thus for many years to come, and possibly by that time a system of Junior University Colleges of Arts in large urban centres of the Province may be provided for.

The lecture courses and the library facilities of the Extension Department of the University of Alberta are penetrating equally well to all the rural and smaller urban districts of the Province, to the south as well as to the north. The lecture courses are in greater demand in the older parts of the Province, while the travelling libraries are much sought after by the settlers in the newer districts. Outside the cities of Edmonton and Calgary, the Province can be as well served with these facilities from one centre as from another, the success of the work depending mainly on the size of the staff, the library and the equipment of the institution by which it is done.

IV RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In view of the foregoing discussion of the fundamental principles which underlie the determination of a sound University policy for the Province of Alberta, your Commissioners respectfully recommend that the petition of Calgary College for degree-conferring powers be not granted. We see no reason for advising a departure from the historic policy of Western Canada, which was inaugurated by the Province of Manitoba, adopted by the North West Territories, and re-affirmed by the Province of Alberta, to establish one University and one only, to be supported and controlled by the Province for the purpose of giving instruction, granting degrees and controlling the requirements for admission to the professions. In pursuance of this policy, the Legislatures of the four western provinces have hitherto steadfastly refused to grant degree-conferring powers to institutions which might enter into competition with the Provincial Universities.
2. In consideration, however, of the substantial interest already manifested by the citizens of Calgary in the improvement of educational facilities within their city, and of the demand by the educational and industrial interests of the city for a more extended instruction in Technological, Social, Economic and allied subjects; also in consideration of the Province's needs of an institution to train and equip teachers qualified to give special instruction in Technology and the Fine and Applied Arts; we recommend that an Institute of Technology and Art be established in the City of Calgary, to be supported and controlled

jointly by the City and the Province.

3. We recommend that this Institute of Technology and Art be empowered to grant certificates and diplomas and to give instruction in such subjects as:

- (a) Mathematics, the Sciences and their application to the trades and industries etc.

- (including Mine Management etc)

- (b) Applied Mechanics; Drafting, Machine Design and Construction; Wood and Metal Working; Tool and Pattern Making; Building Construction; Sanitation and Plumbing; Industrial Electricity; Steam and Gas Engine Work etc.

- (c) The Fine and Applied Arts

- (d) Household Science

- (e) Accounting, Business Methods and Commercial Subjects, Printing and Journalism etc.

- (f) English and Modern Languages; General and Industrial History, Economic, Political and Social Science, etc.

- (g) And such other subjects within the scope of the Institute, defined in this and the following sections, as may be determined from time to time.

4. While it is intended that the Institute shall not organize courses of instruction leading to Engineering, Medical or other professional degrees, nor the advanced courses required for the Bachelor's degree in Arts or Science, which are reserved to the University of Alberta, we recommend that the Senate of the University be requested to give to students coming to it from the Institute

credit towards a degree for such classes taken in the Institute as may be equivalent to those in the same subjects conducted by the University; and further, that the Institute be admitted to affiliation, and granted representation on the Senate of the University.

5. We recommend that the management of the Institute be vested in a Board of Directors appointed partly by the City and partly by the Province; that the academic affairs of the Institute be entrusted to a Faculty Council subject to the approval of the Board of Directors; that in the appointment of the members of the staff, other than the Principal, nomination by the Principal shall first be required.
6. We recommend that the support of the Institute, exclusive of the income from fees, gifts and endowments, be borne equally by the City of Calgary and the Province of Alberta.

SUGGESTIONS

Your Commissioners also respectfully suggest:

1. That the Board of Directors consist of nine members,- the Principal of the Institute, four members representing the City of Calgary and four representing the Province; that of the four members representing the City of Calgary, three be appointed by the School Board and one elected by the Benefactors; that the four members representing the Province be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council; that the term of office of the elected and appointed members be three years, and that not more

than three of them retire annually; that any person who has given at least \$500. in money, buildings, land or equipment to the Institute shall be deemed a Benefactor and entitled to vote for the Director referred to above.

2. That the Faculty Council consist of the Principal and not more than ten other members of the staff, designated by the Board of Directors.
3. In order to provide the Institute with a revenue that will not be subject to annual fluctuations and yet expand to meet the growing needs, we would suggest that the City's share of the annual maintenance be provided in a manner similar to that adopted by the City of Cincinnati, and that the Provincial grant bear a definite ratio to that of the City.
4. That the sum of \$150,000. heretofore voted by the City to Calgary College and the gifts already promised by individual citizens, be devoted to the erection of a building for the Institute which shall be worthy of the City of Calgary.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Signed: Rob't A. Falconer
Walter T. Murray
A. Stanley MacKenzie

December 29th, 1914.

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